THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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FLAG-RAISING CEREMONIES, FORT SUMTER, APRIL 14, 1865

(Steamer *Diamond* in the background)

Courtesy of the Charleston Museum

THE NEW-YORK
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October 1959

VOLUME XLIII NUMBER FOUR

New York: 170 Central Park West

A SOUVENIR OF CHARLESTON

by JOHN E. PARSONS

Part I

WHEN Charleston was evacuated by Confederate forces on February 17, 1865, due to General Sherman's invasion of South Carolina, the city was promptly occupied by Federal troops from Hilton Head. Though Fort Sumter did not fall to assault, it seemed appropriate in Union circles to raise the old flag there on April 14th, the fourth anniversary of its hauling down. An order of the Secretary of War issued March 27th and the exercises, happening to coincide with the end of hostilities, became the occasion for a triumphal celebration. General Robert Anderson, the last Union commander of the Fort, was chosen to preside and the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher to make the principal address. Bringing the official party and guests to Charleston, the transport *Arago* sailed from New York April 8th,

making a stop at Fortress Monroe en route.[1] Another ship, the S.S. *Oceanus*, had been chartered for the trip by less important persons, many of them parishioners of Mr. Beecher's church in Brooklyn.[2]

A letter of April 10th from one of the passengers describes the sailing:

Off Sandy Hook
Inside the Lighthouse
Monday P. M.

My dear Wife:

By a stupid blunder of the Captain in attempting to pilot his own ship we ran aground on an under edge of the Bar, remained caught for an hour, & finally came to an anchor here to remain till midnight or morning, the Captain being frightened by his regard for the stomachs of the passengers on a report of heavy weather outside. . . . There seems to be a very decent party—many gentlemen whom I know, some very pleasant ones—the only lady, the elder of the Colored Orphan Asylum Miss Colgates—who remembered me, and whose name I fished for till I finally caught it.

Quite a number are ladies of all styles and ages—mostly young and decent looking. Ed. Whittemore goes—got the place of Mr. A. A. Low[3] and so has had the best stateroom on the vessel. We did great things at dinner quietly at anchor. To-morrow will be another tale. We are promised to be at Hilton Head on Thursday—Charleston on Friday, and to see Wilmington and Fortress Monroe—perhaps Richmond on the return.

Apart from seasickness, the two hundred voyagers on the *Oceanus* occupied themselves with evening meetings of oratory and music. At least six clergymen spoke and the Reverend H. M. Gallaher of the Nassau Street Baptist Church exhibited an agile

[1] For a list of the *Arago's* passengers, see *New York Times*, April 12, 1865. The issue of April 18th lists those present at the ceremonies, including Gens. Anderson, Dix, Doubleday, Gilmore, Hatch, and Washburne, Asst. Sec. of Navy Fox, Adm. Dahlgren, Adjt. Gen. Townsend, Ex-Gov. Clifford of Mass., Lt. Gov. Anderson of Ohio, and Justice Swayne.

[2] The voyage of the *Oceanus* is reported in a subscription volume, *The Trip of the Steamer Oceanus to Ft. Sumter and Charleston, S.C.* (Brooklyn: 1865). Her captain's name was William S. Young. The passenger list in the Appendix includes John E. Parsons (1829–1915), whose letters to his wife are quoted herein, his brother William H. Parsons, and a cousin, Edward P. Whittemore.

[3] A. A. Low, the ship owner, sailed in the *Arago*.

Celtic wit. William B. Bradbury "the music man" was on board with Helmsmuller's band and a piano. At every occasion the favorite song[4] was one composed by Mr. Bradbury to verses and a chorus that would have suited final victory by either North or South:

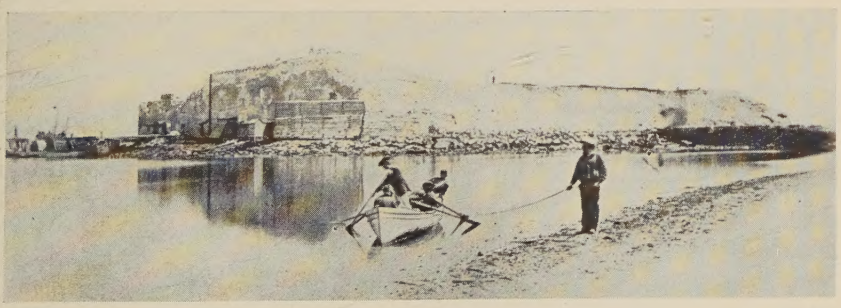
There's victory at last, boys, victory at last!
O'er land and sea our flag is free; we'll nail it to the mast;
Yes, we'll nail it to the mast, boys, nail it to the mast;
For there's victory, victory, victory at last!

On Thursday, April 13th, the vessel arrived off Charleston, in ample time for the celebration described in another letter:

My dear Molly,

At 3 o'clock yesterday P.M. a long low line was sighted which soon developed itself into land with a break partially filled by a dull irregular mass of material which we at once proclaimed to be Sumter. We soon reached the Bar out of which we had to wait till 6 when we came up to the City. Just before we passed Sumter a slight shower served to paint a rainbow over the fort immediately clearing in the west so as to illuminate the whole horizon with a glow which developed itself into the red white & blue with Sumter itself for a staff. This was quickly followed by

[4] In a letter dated "Off Charleston Harbor—Thursday P.M." Mr. Parsons wrote: "I have not yet cursed my folly for coming—to sing 'Victory at last' in sight of Sumter is some compensation for even more discomfort than I have endured."



FORT SUMTER IN 1865

Courtesy of the Charleston Museum

CHARLESTON NORTHEASTERN R.R. DEPOT AFTER EVACUATION, 1865

Courtesy of the South Carolina Historical Society

a smoky murky dense cloud overshadowing the City which it was difficult not to believe the smoke rising from its ruins. Many vessels of war lay in the Harbor to whom was shouted the Surrender of Lee which they answered by manning the yards and shrouds.

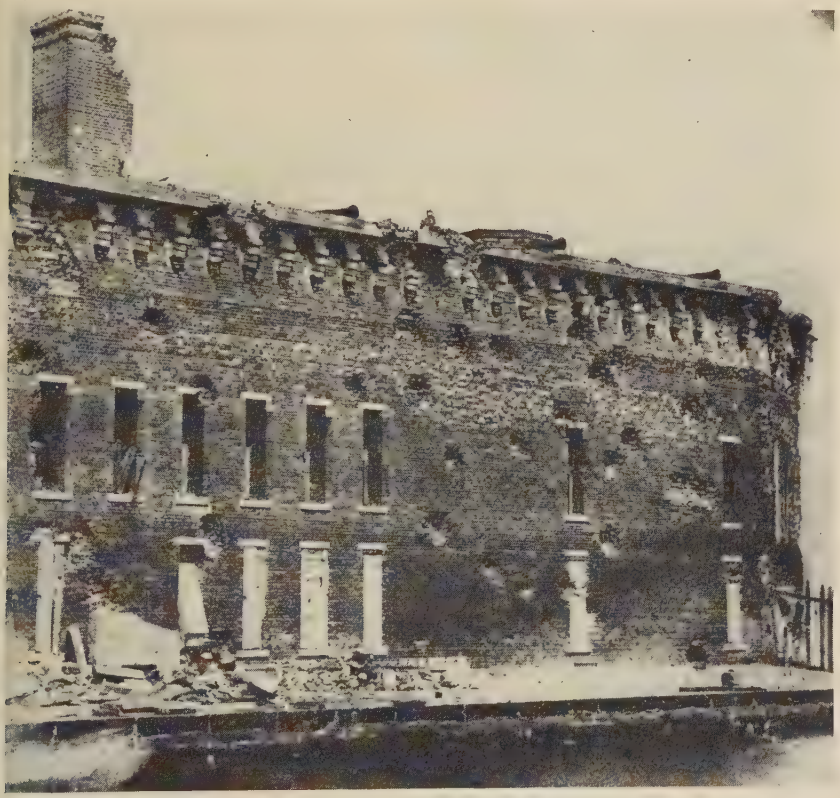
As soon as we made fast I jumped ashore—it was dark—selected a boy & told him to take me at once to the Charleston Hotel where we were the first to take the news which Sen. Wilson read to a most excited crowd, following with a speech, then a speech from Gen[l] Washburn. Then bands were sent for and from the Portico of the Charleston Hotel rang out Yankee Doodle, Hail Col. My country tis of thee etc.

There is no go. It is a City of the Dead—the best part in ruins from the great fire of 4 years ago; the buildings almost all in the lower and handsomer part of the City vacant, torn with shells, the streets literally grown over with grass, and everything in desolation. Troops patrol the Street forbidding all passing after 7 o'clock and nothing can exceed the quiet.

In the morning, Friday, we walked around. All the handsome mansions on the shore, or battery, within reach of our shell, were vacated and left to themselves save where a soldier has made his quarters. The yards are filled with beautiful flowers which you pick at will. Since I commenced, we have seen the flag raised, spent a day on Sumter, seen the battered walls, shaken hands with Gen[l] Anderson & Gen[l] Gilmore under the folds of the flag, sat within 10 feet of Mr. Beecher as he delivered the address, witnessed the decoration of the fleet in the day, and illumination at night, spent the evening at a ball at Gen[l] Hatch's headquarters in the mansion of

the Middleton family. Now it is Saturday A.M. and this P.M. we are promised to start for home.

Departure of the *Oceanus* had been postponed to enable her passengers to see more of Charleston and to attend the "Freedmen's Meeting" at Zion's Church. William Lloyd Garrison was on hand to address the "contrabands" whose representatives had been transported to Fort Sumter the day before but for some unexplained reason not allowed to land. Neither his nor Mr. Beecher's righteous remarks at the Fort were in any sense conciliatory. Speaking next, Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts and Congressman William H. Kelly from Pennsylvania



FORT SUMTER SHOWING SHOT MARKS FROM MORRIS ISLAND

Courtesy of the Charleston Library Society

COTTON ON THE DOCKS, CHARLESTON

Courtesy of the South Carolina Historical Society

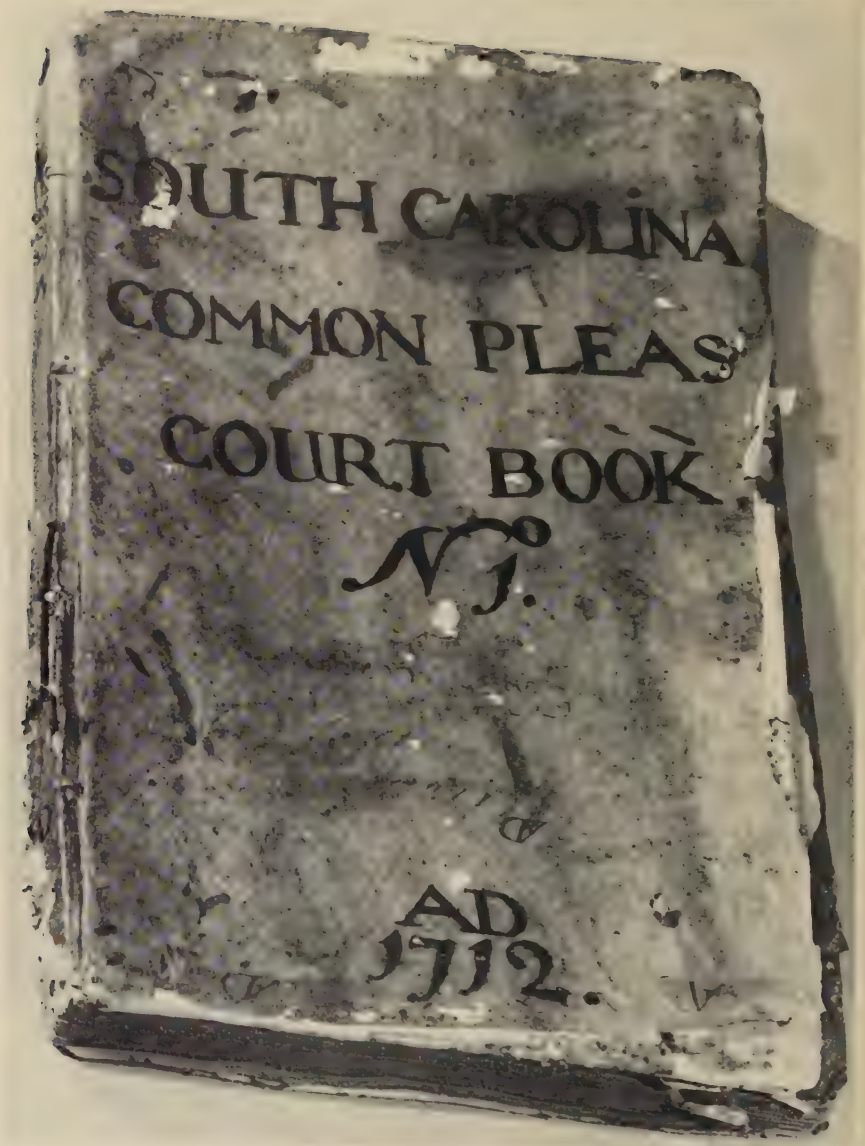
made fervent appeals for the Freedmen's vote and thus unwittingly qualified among the earliest of the carpetbaggers.[5]

The excursionists visited various public buildings of the city, among them the Bank of Charleston, where the second floor was "piled knee-deep with old bank-accounts, notes, bills of exchange, papers of every description. . . . Here the mania for 'relics' ran high. Dozens of curiosity-hunters were bending over them on hands and knees, untying old yellow and dusty bundles, selecting ancient and curious documents, and duly bestowing them in the voluminous depths of coat pockets, or carrying them off tenderly under the arm. Occasionally could be heard 'ah! here's a prize! only look! 1730, 1776,' etc. The old City Hall . . . was in the same condition [and] precisely the same may be said of the Court-House . . . now sacked, gloomy and desolate."[6]

Among the souvenirs brought back on the *Oceanus* were two 640 lb. shot, designed for the English Blakeley guns in the Confederate harbor batteries. One was thoughtfully presented by a committee of the passengers to the Long Island Historical Society and the other to The New-York Historical Society (where it may yet be seen). Numerous documentary mementoes were exhibited and exchanged on shipboard, including papers signed by James Monroe, Alexander Hamilton, and Lord Fairfax. Many of them were of legal import, indicating that the Court House had been thoroughly looted and its ancient files and records strewn about. An unusual item of this category, whose rescue from destruction may well be due to the letter-writer's being a lawyer by profession, has been found among his papers in a worn wrapper marked "Charleston, S. C. Sumter 1865."

[5] For these speeches and other details, see *Trip of the Steamer Oceanus, supra*, 55–76, 98–111; *Charleston Courier*, April 14, 15, and 17, 1865 (copies at NYHS).

[6] *Trip of the Steamer Oceanus, supra*, 89, 90. For a letter of April 21, 1869, from Henry Ward Beecher, denying a rumor that on this visit he had carried off records of St. Michael's Church, Charleston, see *S. C. Hist. Magazine*, July 1959 (Vol. 60, No. 3).



COVER OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMON PLEAS COURT BOOK NO. 1, A.D. 1712

Presented by the author to the State Archives of South Carolina

Part II

This vellum-bound book of 256 pages, 8 x 13 inches, with entries handwritten in ink, is entitled on the cover:

SOUTH CAROLINA
COMMON PLEAS
COURT BOOK
N° 1.
AD 1712.

It dates from the time of the Lords Proprietors, before South Carolina became a royal province. While a Court of Common Pleas had existed since 1682, it was not until 1712 that the common law and certain statutes of England were formally declared in force in the Colony.[7] The numeral of the book may relate to this adoption or possibly to the book's being the first such record required to be kept.[8] Actually the entries cover the period from February 1713 to September 1715, and the four general and two special terms held each year. Thus there are diaries of the Court for its regular terms in February, May, August, and November, as well as special terms, docket entries for each civil case pending, and lists of jurors drawn and serving.

The Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas then in office was the remarkable Nicholas Trott (1663–1740). He was the only judge sitting in the Colony, except for the appointment of a substitute, Judge Robert Daniell, in 1714 while Trott made a visit to England. The latter had come to Carolina in the 1690s, served as Attorney General in 1699, been elected to the colonial Assembly in 1700 and made Speaker, and finally been appointed Chief Justice in 1702. In this capacity he also presided over the

[7] H. A. M. Smith, "The Administration of Justice in South Carolina," *Year Book —1885, City of Charleston,* 316; Thomas Cooper, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia: 1837), II, 401, 413.

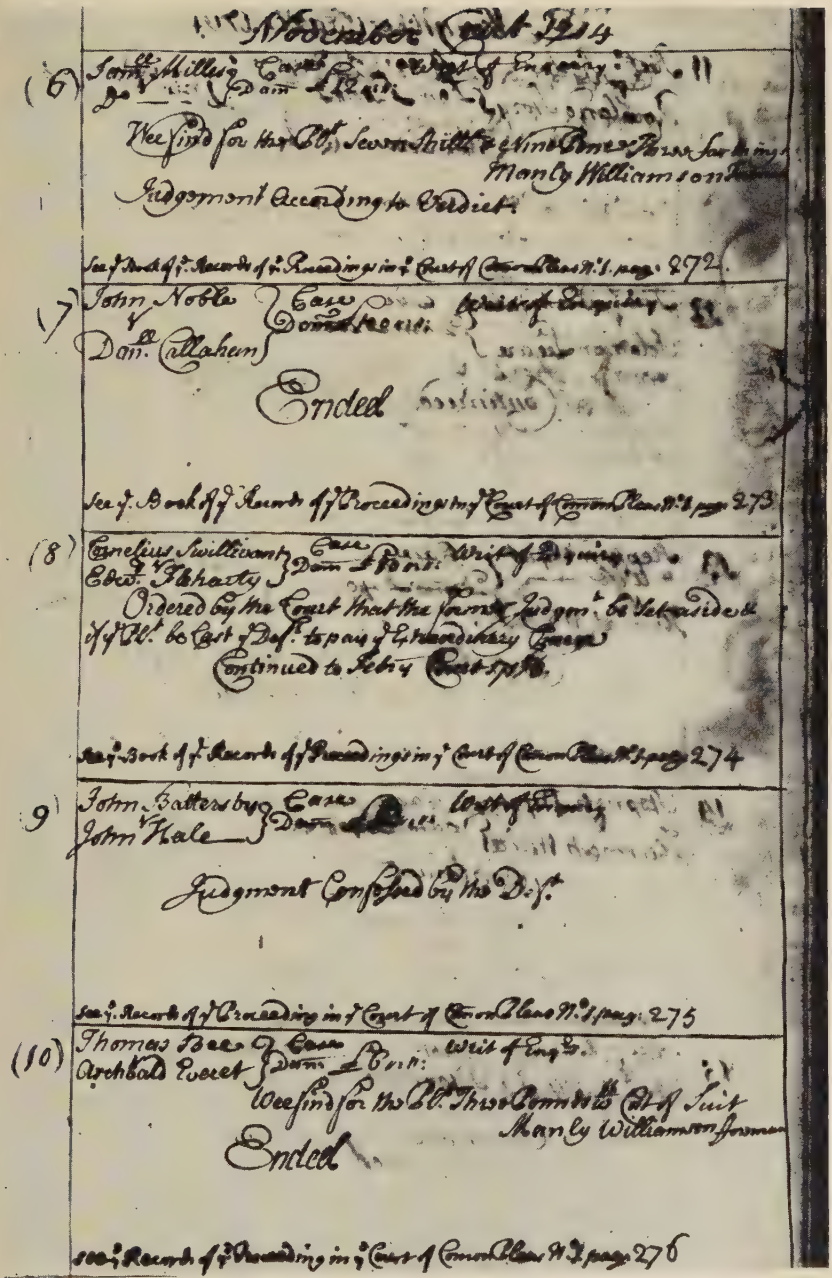
[8] Section IX of Act No. 530 of August 20, 1731 (Cooper, *op. cit.*, III, 276) mentions the "Court Book" as follows: "That the said chief justice for the time being shall in the presence of the persons hereinafter named, cause the clerk of the Court of Common Pleas diligently to enter the names of every juror as he shall be drawn, into the docket or Court book wherein are usually entered the proceedings of the said Court of Common Pleas. . . ."

Court of Sessions, whose jurisdiction was criminal. While on leave in England Trott was designated by the Proprietors a member of the colonial Council and accorded special powers tantamount to veto over its actions. Since appeals from both the civil and criminal courts of first instance came before the Council, which also sat with the Governor as a court of chancery, it is apparent that Trott had extraordinary influence. He was besides a legal scholar of note who compiled the first collection of colonial statutes known to South Carolina.[9]

Analysis of the docket entries indicates that in February term, 1713, there were 52 cases pending in the Court of Common Pleas, of which 28 were finally disposed of and 22 were new causes. The calendar grew until there were 85 cases on file in November 1713, 84 at the end of 1714, and 137 by September 1715. After the first year when 100 suits terminated, dispositions averaged some 40 a term with a slightly greater accrual of new litigation. Not all actions were adjudicated; many were settled or discontinued by the parties themselves or abated by reason of the death or marriage of one. Term sessions lasted but a week or two each; there were only ten jury trials in February 1713, three in May, one in August, and six in November. The following year ten took place in February and March, three in May, nine in August, and seven in November and December with Judge Daniell sitting. The year 1715 saw only five trials, all but one in February, probably because an Indian outbreak known as the Yamasee War occupied the attention of both litigants and jurors.

It would seem that the same jury of twelve served for all cases tried in one term, challenge of jurors being unknown. In a single instance a thirteenth man was sworn in place of one taken sick. When, as not infrequently happened, a juryman was involved in pending litigation, instead of his being excused the case was con-

[9] Fred O. Blue, "Judge Nicholas Trott," *Bermuda Hist. Quarterly*, May and August 1952, 241–49, 285–94. Trott's *The Laws of the Province of South Carolina*, originally compiled by him in 1712, is the earliest extant book printed in Charleston (1736), if a pamphlet entitled *Essay on Currency*, printed there by Lewis Timothy two years before, is excepted.



November Court 1714

(6) Jam.s Skillen } Case
Do — } Dam.s Plead:

We find for the Pl.ff Seven Shillings & Nine Pence Three Farthings
Manly Williamson Foreman

Judgment According to Verdict

See y.e Book of y.e Records of y.e Proceedings in y.e Court of Common Pleas N.o 1. page 272.

(7) John Noble } Case
& } Dam.s Plead:
Dan.l Callahen }

Ended

See y.e Book of y.e Records of y.e Proceedings in y.e Court of Common Pleas N.o 1 page 273

(8) Cornelius Swilliwant } Case
& } Dam.s Plead: Writ of Enquiry
Edw.d Thackery }

Ordered by the Court that the former Judgm.t be Set aside &
y.e Pl.ff be Cast y.e Def.t to pay y.e Extraordinary Charges
Continued to Febry Court 1715.

See y.e Book of y.e Records of y.e Proceedings in y.e Court of Common Pleas N.o 1 page 274

(9) John Batterson } Case
& } Dam.s
John Hale }

Judgment Confessed by the Def.t

See y.e Records of y.e Proceedings in y.e Court of Common Pleas N.o 1 page 275

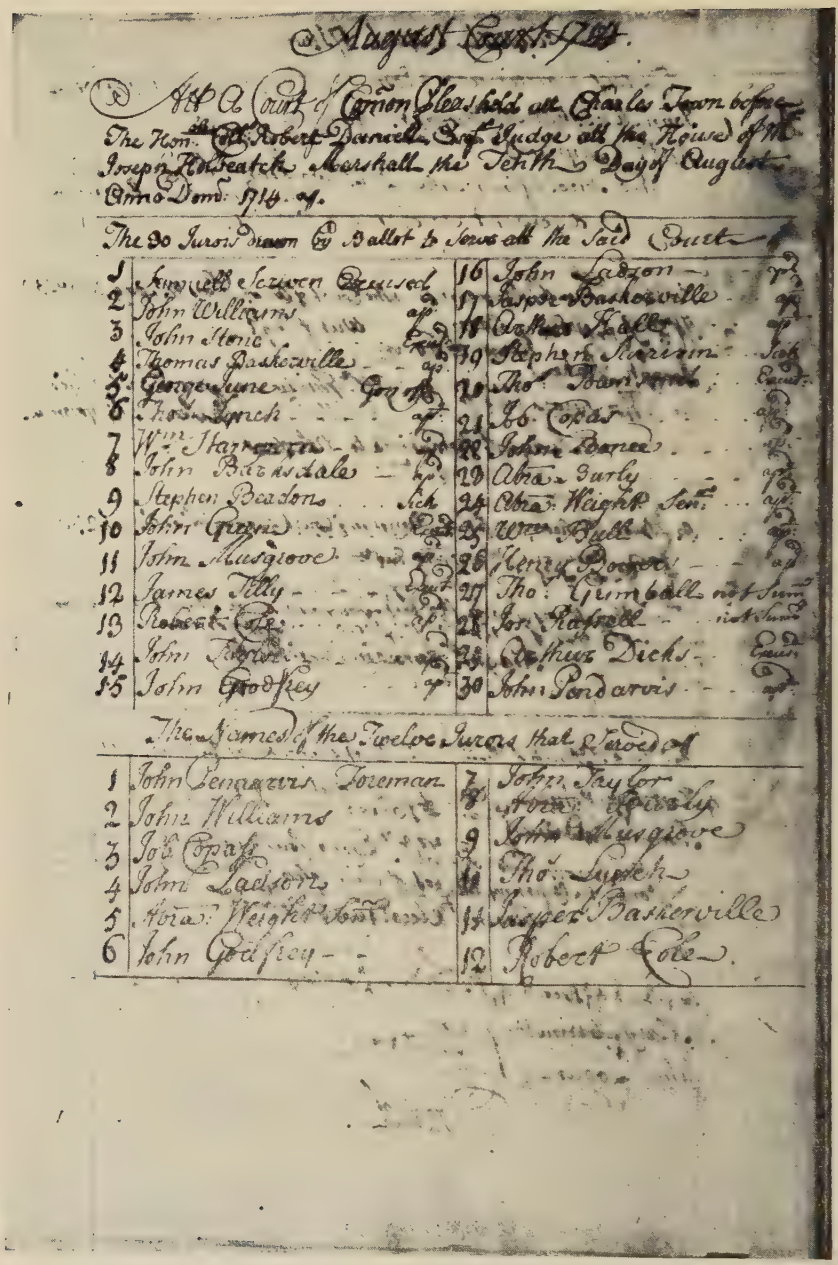
(10) Thomas Bee } Case
& } Dam.s Plea:
Archibald Everet } Writ of Enq.y

We find for the Pl.ff Three Pounds Cost of Suit
Manly Williamson Foreman

Ended

See y.e Records of y.e Proceedings in y.e Court of Common Pleas N.o 1 page 276

DOCKET ENTRIES, NOVEMBER TERM, 1714, S.C. COURT OF COMMON PLEAS



August Court 1714.

At a Court of Common Pleas held at Charles Town before the Hon. Robert Daniell Esq. Judge all the House of Mr. Joseph Holdcatch Marshall the Tenth Day of August Anno Dom. 1714.

The 30 Jurors drawn & Ballot to Serve all the said Court

1	Samuell Scrivener Excused	16	John Ladson
2	John Williams	17	Jasper Basherville
3	John Stone	18	Arthur Hall
4	Thomas Basherville	19	Stephen Marvin Sick
5	George June	20	Tho Joan Excused
6	Tho Lynch	21	Jo Copas
7	Wm Starr	22	John Barnes
8	John Barnsdale	23	Abra Burly
9	Stephen Beadon Sick	24	Abra Wright Sen.
10	John Gignic	25	Wm Hall
11	John Musgrove	26	Henry Bodon
12	James Tilly	27	Tho Grimball not Sum
13	Robert Cole	28	Jor Raswell not Sum
14	John Turner	29	Arthur Dicks Excus
15	John Godfrey	30	John Pondarvis

The Names of the Twelve Jurors that Served

1	John Pendarvis Foreman	7	John Taylor
2	John Williams	8	Tho Burly
3	Jo Copas	9	John Musgrove
4	John Ladson	10	Tho Lynch
5	Abra Wright Sen	11	Jasper Basherville
6	John Godfrey	12	Robert Cole

JURY PANEL, AUGUST TERM, 1714, S.C. COURT OF COMMON PLEAS

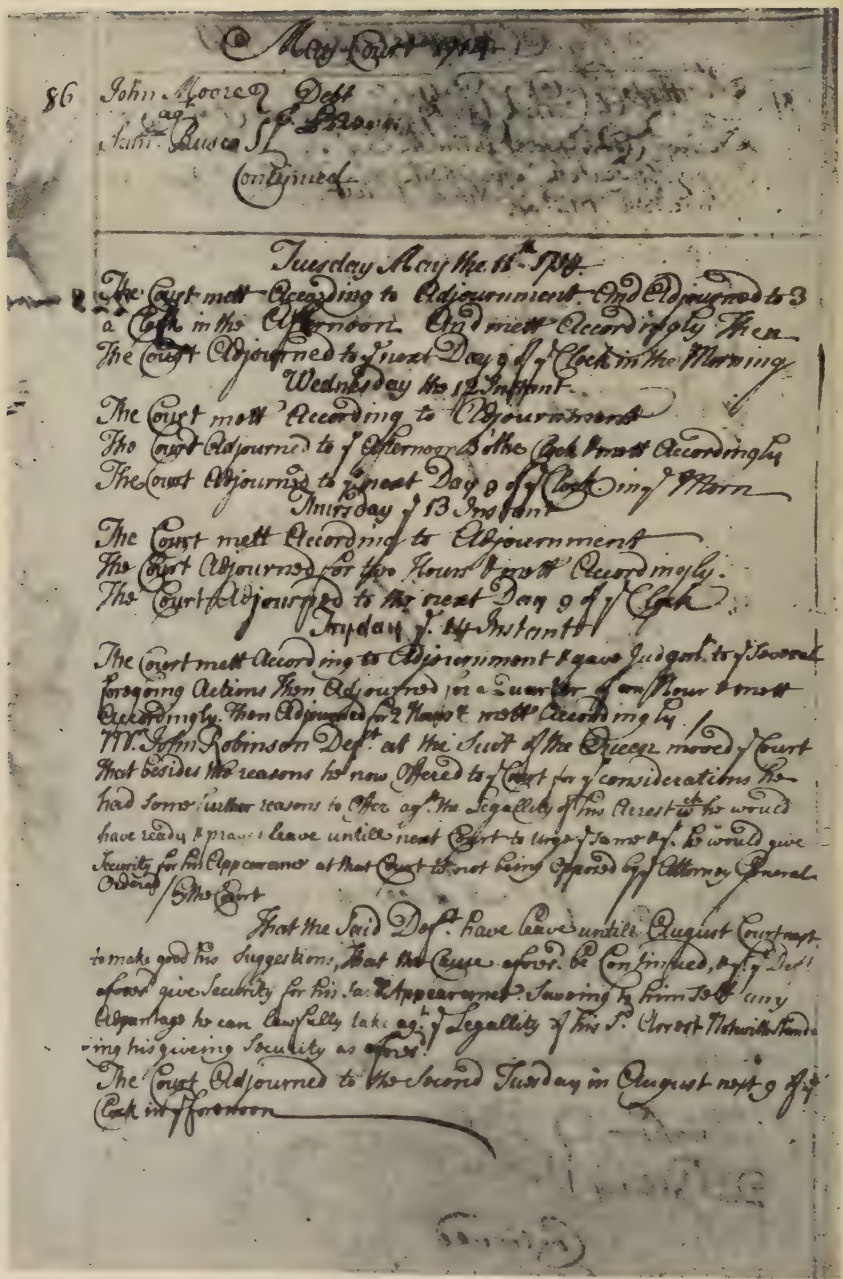
tinued to the next term. Findings in by far the greater number of trials ran in favor of plaintiffs. Among the foremen who signed verdicts appeared David Maybank, Percival Pauly, William Baker, Thomas Diston, George Chicken, Joseph Boone, Anthony Matthews, John Pendarvis, Manly Williamson, William Gibbon, Thomas Cater and Jacob Satur. Most jurors were of course English. Yet French names like Prialeau, Dupree, Foissine, Manigault, Legare, Perroneau, Laroche, Pointset, and Gaillard witnessed the established position of Huguenot settlers in Charleston. Some of these names and others of jurors or litigants like Ball, Barksdale, Bee, Buttler, Colleton, Drayton, Guerard, Huger, Lynch, Marrion, Mazyke, Parris, Porcher, Rhett, Tradd, and Wigfall have lasting historical connotations in the city or State.[10]

The pending litigation followed common law lines, with actions on the case (negligence or trespass), for breach of covenant, debt, replevin, or ejectment. Damages asked ran from £5 to £4,000, although verdicts never approached this magnitude. A deplorable penchant for adjournments manifested itself, with reasons not noted except for a continuance, "defendant being in ye Army" or "defendant being an Assemblyman & the Assembly now sitting." In several related cases as novel a procedure as arbitration was adopted by consent of the parties, the issues being referred to Captain George Smith, William Bull (a member of the Council), and Charles Hart (Secretary of the Colony). Following their award the plaintiff acknowledged satisfaction in open court, but sued again later until "stopped by injunction." This remedy was not uncommon since the Court of Chancery (Trott being a member) could intervene without friction.[11]

The bar of the Court of Common Pleas consisted of very few members. Besides Major George Evans, the Attorney General,

[10] The spelling of these names, taken from the "Court Book," differs in certain instances from that later employed.

[11] A. K. Gregorie and J. N. Frierson, *Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina, 1671–1779* (American Historical Association, 1950), 39, 97, report two such cases.



May Court 1714

86 John Moore Deft
ag.t
Sam.l Bruce Pl.t
Continued

Tuesday May the 16th 1714.

The Court mett According to Adjournment. And Adjourned to 3 a Clock in the Afternoon. Ord mett Accordingly Then The Court Adjourned to Next Day 9 of ye Clock in the Morning

Wednesday the 17th Instant

The Court mett According to Adjournment
The Court Adjourned to 3 Afternoon 9 the Clock Court mett Accordingly
The Court Adjourned to Next Day 9 of ye Clock in ye Morn

Thursday ye 18 Instant

The Court mett According to Adjournment
The Court Adjourned for two Hours & mett Accordingly.
The Court Adjourned to the next Day 9 of ye Clock

Friday ye 19th Instant

The Court mett According to Adjournment & gave Judgt to Several foregoing Actions Then Adjourned for a Quarter of an Hour & mett Accordingly. Then Adjourned for 2 Hours mett Accordingly

Mr. John Robinson Deft at the Suit of the Queen moved Court that besides the reasons he now offered to Court for ye consideration he had some further reasons to offer ag.t the Legality of his Arrest & he would have ready & pray'd leave until next Court to urge ye same & he would give Security for his Appearance at that Court & not being Opposed by ye Attorney Genl Ordered by the Court

That the said Deft have leave until August Court next to make good his Suggestions, That the Cause afores.d be Continued, & ye Deft afores.d give Security for his ye Appearance Swearing to him to ye any Advantage he can Lawfully take ag.t ye Legality of his ye Arrest Notwithstanding his giveing Security as afores.d

The Court Adjourned to the Second Tuesday in August next 9 of ye Clock in ye Morning

DIARY, MAY TERM, 1714, S. C. COURT OF COMMON PLEAS

only the names of George Rodd, Henry Wigington, John Robinson, Benjamin Edwards, and Richard Allein are recorded in the "Court Book." The last mentioned became Attorney General of South Carolina in 1718 and Chief Justice in 1727, after the Colony had changed into a royal province. When the colonists repudiated Proprietary rule in 1719, Nicholas Trott returned to England to occupy himself with writing a treatise on *The Laws of the British Plantations in America, relating to the Church and Clergy, Religion and Learning* (London: 1721). This work has become a very rare book, but manifestly not unique as is the first journal of Trott's Court of Common Pleas.

The original volume has been restored to its rightful place in the Archives of South Carolina at Columbia, a photostatic copy being provided by the Archivist for the library of this Society. As yet no earlier docket book of the Court of Common Pleas in South Carolina has been located, although judgment rolls exist from 1703 onward and a few Chancery records contemporaneous in time are in print.[12] The journal affords the prospect to regional historians and genealogists of tracing forebears among the many names of early jurors or litigants. For students of colonial jurisprudence, it offers a view of the inception in a Southern colony of common law proceedings, comparable perhaps to that afforded in New York by Richard B. Morris's *Select Cases of the Mayor's Court of New York City 1674–1784.*[13]

[12] In its docket entries on pending litigation, the journal makes frequent reference to a "Book of the Records of the Proceedings in the Court of Common Pleas No. 1." These cross-references are by pages, commencing with 75 and ending with 338. It is believed that this book contained more detailed entries respecting individual cases. Volumes of this series, dating from 1733, are the earliest located in the South Carolina Archives.

[13] American Historical Association, 1935. This court in Colonial times exercised the jurisdiction of a Court of Common Pleas in New York City and County.

VIEW LOOKING SOUTHEAST FROM TOP OF RCA BUILDING

Photographed for the Society, June 17, 1948

By Charles T. Miller, Staff Photographer

THE ESSENCE OF NEW YORK CITY*

by Bayrd Still

Professor of History, New York University

PROBABLY no American city has been so repeatedly described, so often interpreted, as New York. Whatever be the reason—its size, its ever-changing physical contours, or its position, for newcomers, at the threshold of the continent—it has inspired both visitors and residents, in unusual number, to record their reactions to the local scene. Not many of the commentators have phrased their aims as aptly as Rupert Brooke, who avowedly aspired to "surprise the secret" and "detect the essence" of the city. But literally for centuries before the arrival of the young British poet, in 1913, and for decades thereafter, contemporaries have been producing a composite testimony from which it is possible to deduce the qualities which give uniqueness to the city's personality and which constitute what may appropriately be called the "essence" of New York.[1]

No aspect of the city's personality has been more frequently stressed than the business-mindedness of its residents and the commercial vigor of the urban setting. "Children of Commerce" was Gouverneur Morris's characterization of the populace in the early years of nationhood;[2] but this quality of the community induced comment almost from the moment it was founded, somewhere around 1625, as a Dutch trading post in the New World. As early as 1661, an Englishman visiting New Amsterdam noted that the town was "seated . . . commodiously for trades"; this was the residents' "chief employment for they plant

* Adapted from an address to the Society, March 3, 1959.

[1] Rupert Brooke, *Letters from America* (London: 1931), 14. See also, Bayrd Still, *Mirror for Gotham: New York as Seen by Contemporaries from Dutch Days to the Present* (New York: 1956), *passim;* Bayrd Still, "The Personality of New York City," in *New York Folklore Quarterly,* IX (Summer 1958), 83–92.

[2] Allan Nevins, "The Golden Thread in the History of New York," in *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly,* XXXIX (January 1955), 8.

THE BURGIS VIEW OF N

Drawn by William Burgis

Reproduced from the Edward C. Arnold-Harris D.

and sow litle [*sic*]."[3] A quarter-century later, when the region had fallen into British hands and New Amsterdam had become New York, an English governor reported that New York lived "wholly upon trade with the Indians England and the West Indies."[4] The predominance of commercial activity was even more apparent by the mid-eighteenth century, when Peter Kalm, distinguished Swedish naturalist, attempted to analyze the local economy. "New York probably carries on a more extensive commerce, than any town in the English North American provinces," he wrote, after a visit in 1748.[5]

[3] Anon., "Description of the Towne of Mannadens, 1661," in *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609–1664*, ed. by J. Franklin Jameson (New York: 1909), 424.

[4] "Gov. Dongan's Report to the Committee of Trade on the Province of New-York, dated 22d February, 1687," in *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, ed. by E. B. O'Callaghan (4 vols.; Albany: 1850–51), I, 96.

[5] Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America*, tr. by John R. Forster (2 vols.; London: 1772), I, 198.

ONG ISLAND, 1716–1718
d by I. Harris of London
pies owned by The New-York Historical Society and Robert Goelet

By the early nineteenth century, the prevailing preoccupation with business clearly set the tone of the community, to judge from contemporary accounts. A visitor of 1807 remarked that every "thought, word, look, and action of the multitude seemed to be absorbed by commerce."[6] "All is business in New York," wrote another commentator, fifty years later. "In the morning hours, when the business population . . . pours out into the main artery, in Broadway, and descends hurriedly 'down town,' nothing could stop it or divert the torrent. Even if Sebastopol had been in their way, those men would have run over it at one rush."[7] On the eve of the Civil War, New Yorkers gave outsiders the impression that they lived only "to make money and spend

[6] John Lambert, *Travels through Canada, and the United States of North America, in the Years 1806, 1807 & 1808* (2 vols.; London: 1814), II, 64.
[7] Adam G. deGurowski, *America and Europe* (New York: 1857), 371–72.

it." The fact that merchants appeared to be admired more than lawyers and medical men indicated the prevailing taste. As one observer concluded, "To be much thought of, a New Yorker must be in trade."[8]

In the postwar era, the pursuit of business continued to shape the behavior of the local residents, despite the stimulus to industry provided by the Civil War. In the opinion of Mark Twain, a lonely Westerner in the midst of an unfamiliar million, the New Yorker of 1867 had no time "to fool away" on matters which did not involve "dollars and duty and business."[9] The Polish novelist, Henry Sienkiewicz, visiting New York in 1876, reacted in similar fashion. "Business, business, business, from morning till night, that is all you see, read, and hear," wrote the future author of *Quo Vadis?*. "At first glance this is not a city inhabited by a particular nationality; rather it is a collection of merchants, industrialists, bankers, officials—a cosmopolitan market place which impresses you with . . . the onesidedness of its life, productive only of money."[10]

To observers of the twentieth-century city, New York's preeminence in business still appeared to be the dominant facet of the city's personality, even though the definition of business had been expanded to include far-reaching operations in the area of corporate enterprise, speculation, and high finance. "The wholesale merchants, the banker potentates, and the corporation attorneys set the pace . . . and dominate all the activities of the metropolis," wrote the German-born psychologist, Hugo Munsterberg, in 1904.[11] New York during the thoughtless twenties had the quality of a "vast cash register," in the opinion of a

[8] J. and A. C-----, *The United States and Canada, as Seen by Two Brothers in 1858 and 1861* (London: 1862), 21.

[9] *Mark Twain's Travels with Mr. Brown, . . . sketches written by Mark Twain for the San Francisco "Alta California" in 1866 & 1867 . . .*, collected and edited with an introduction by Franklin Walker and G. Ezra Dane (New York: 1940), 259.

[10] Henry Sienkiewicz, *Portrait of America: Letters of Henry Sienkiewicz*, ed. and tr. by Charles Morley (New York: 1959), 6.

[11] Hugo Munsterberg, *The Americans*, tr. from the German by Edwin B. Holt (New York: 1904), 347–48.

British visitor; and even at the less money-minded mid-century, commentators continued to note the conditioning role of business upon the character of the city and its residents.[12]

Anecdotes, as well as serious observations, tended to foster and perpetuate the idea that business-mindedness was the essential characteristic of New York. A British naval officer, visiting the city in 1826, asserted that many of the New Yorkers' expressions

MERCANTILE NEW YORK, 1828 (SOUTH ST. FROM MAIDEN LANE)

Drawn and engraved by William J. Bennett

were "derived from their mercantile habits." He reported hearing a young lady declare that in choosing a prospective husband "she was all for the *commissions*." This elicited from the officer's companion, who was an Army major, "one of his best bows, in the fond presumption that she alluded to the military profession; not at all; the sequel of her conversation explained but too clearly that *Commission Merchants* were the fortunate objects of her preference."[13] By the mid-nineteenth century, New York was

[12] C. H. Bretherton, *Midas or the United States and the Future* (New York: 1926), 91.

[13] Lieut. Frederick Fitzgerald de Roos, *Personal Narrative of Travels in the United States and Canada* (London: 1827), 55.

"typed" in popular parlance as the "city of business," when, by contrast, Boston was called "the city of science," and Philadelphia "the city of aristocracy."[14] A similar point of view was expressed in the questions reputedly asked of newcomers who sought admission to the high society of these cities. According to this yardstick of local taste, in Boston it was asked of a young lady "if she were clever, in Philadelphia, if she were pretty, in New York, if she were rich."[15]

Through the years, commentators pointed to signs of the commercial focus of the New York community even more tangible than the attitudes of its residents. One of these was the ever-increasing bustle of Broadway—what Walt Whitman called as early as the 1840s the city's "mighty rush of men, business, carts,

[14] Luigi Adamoli, "Letters from America, I," in *The Living Age*, CCCXII (March 1922), 588.

[15] Two Englishmen [———Rivington and ———Harris], *Reminiscences of America in 1869* (London: 1870), 44–45.

BROAD ST. LOOKING TO WALL ST.: STOCK EXCHANGE (CENTRAL LEFT)

Photographed for the Society by Charles T. Miller, 1948

TONTINE COFFEE HOUSE (MERCHANTS' AND BROKERS' EXCHANGE)

Wall and Water Streets (Merchants Coffee House, extreme right)
Painting by Francis Guy, *c.* 1798

The New-York Historical Society

carriages, and clang."[16] Another was the splendor of its commercial hotels, culminating in the original Waldorf-Astoria, where, early in the twentieth century, Henry James found, "condensed and accumulated," the "*characteristic*" of the metropolis.[17] The frenetic pursuits at the Wall Street Stock Exchange symbolized the role of the metropolis in the realm of finance; while to D. W. Brogan, the magnitude of its commercial activity was symbolized best in the harbor and the port.[18] Recognized as the outward sign of New York's preeminence in retail merchandising was the opulence of its fabled shopping centers, which had moved successively northward to Thirty-fourth Street by the eve of World War I, and to the vicinity of the Fifties and Madison Avenue in the expansive postwar era that followed. In the opinion of J. B. Priestley, mid-twentieth-century New York was more than any-

[16] Walt Whitman, articles written for *Life Illustrated*, in *New York Dissected* (New York: 1936), 199–200.
[17] Henry James, *The American Scene* (New York: 1946), 102.
[18] Denis W. Brogan, *American Themes* (New York: n. d.), 115.

thing else a vast retail showcase in which "all the rich loot of civilization" was for sale.[19]

This was the facet of the city's personality that was consciously presented to Anastas Mikoyan when he visited New York in January 1959. Macy's—advertised as the world's largest

WALL STREET FROM BROADWAY, 1834

Litho. by Peter Maverick after Hugh Reinagle

department store—was the first stop in a day of activity which took the Soviet official to Wall Street, to the Waldorf-Astoria, and to a reception where he was introduced to leading representatives of the city's financial community. Meanwhile, his fellow countryman, the director of the Moiseyev ballet, was testifying in Moscow to the infectious tempo and commercial dynamism of the New York which he had viewed a few months before. To this Soviet visitor, as to many a European before him, the profusion of wares to be found in the city's drugstores was one of the symbols of the commercial variety and resourcefulness of the Empire City. "One has always heard that you could buy many

[19] J. B. Priestley, "Priestley Appraises New York," in *New York Times*, January 4, 1948.

things in an American apothecary," Moiseyev reported; "but would you believe that you can eat whole meals there, that you could buy food, toys, household goods, and things which have nothing to do with medicine."[20]

Even its skyscrapers were viewed as monuments to the city's

WALL STREET FROM BROADWAY TODAY

commercial prowess, though in and of themselves they were often hailed as the quintessence of the city. "New York is a skyline," wrote Jacques Barzun in 1958, "the most stupendous, unbelievable man-made spectacle since the hanging gardens of Babylon."[21] In this he echoed the sentiments of commentators who, since the opening of the twentieth century, had seen in the mass and elevation of its "soaring edifices" the really unique feature of New York. To others, however, these titanic towers were primarily manifestations of the magnitude of the city's

[20] *New York Times*, January 15, 19, 1959.

[21] Jacques Barzun, "The World's Mecca—New York," in *Wisdom*, III (September 1958), 40.

business and financial operations. They connoted the dynamic drive of its business community, just as its mighty bridges, reaching out as if to engross the surrounding territory, suggested its commercial hold on the rest of the nation. In the opinion of John C. Van Dyke, writing in 1908, these "cathedrals to commerce" furthered the impression that "commerce, trade, traffic —what is commonly called business"—underwrote the city's economic might.[22]

So positively have the commercial and financial activities of New York's economy asserted themselves that the immensity of industrial operations in the city and its environs is often overlooked. Actually, as early as 1860, New York could boast of being the foremost manufacturing city of the nation, in terms of the value of the goods produced; and the New York City of World War II could claim to be what John Gunther called it, "the greatest manufacturing town on earth." The *New York Times* reported in the late 1940s that more persons were then engaged in New York's garment trades than made steel in Pittsburgh or automobiles in Detroit.[23] But for at least two reasons this aspect of the city's personality has failed to impress the casual observer as much as it might. One is that garment manufacture—the city's predominant industry— is usually carried on in structures that look more like business blocks than like factories. The other is that the appeal and magnitude of the city's financial, entertainment, and retail shopping centers are such that transient observers rarely find themselves in the parts of the city where factory structures of the traditional type are found.

Another ingredient of the "essence" of New York—and a trait that has impressed contemporaries through the years—is the convivial nature of its society. To many an observer, midtown Broadway, especially when transformed by its spectacular lights, is more manifestly representative of the personality of New York City than are Wall Street, Fifth Avenue, or the New York port.

[22] John C. Van Dyke, *The New New York* (New York: 1909), vii, 14, 16.
[23] John Gunther, *Inside U. S. A.* (New York: 1947), 553; John Joslin, "Our Incredible City," in *New York Times Magazine* (December 22, 1946), 11.

Indeed, by the mid-twentieth century, Broadway was supplemented by "off-Broadway," which made even more pervasive the entertainment aspect of the city's personality. But this characteristic of the community, like its business-mindedness, has been apparent from early times. The lusty, transient society that inhabited commerce-focused New Amsterdam in the mid-seventeenth century led one newcomer to remark in 1654: ". . . they all drink here, from the moment they are able to lick a spoon. The women of the neighborhood entertain each other with a pipe and a brazier: young and old, they all smoke."[24]

A century later, when Dutch New Amsterdam had given way to British New York, English officials were remarking upon the "gayety and dissipation" with which its provincial society was "tinctured."[25] And when still another hundred years had passed, William Dean Howells was of the opinion that, after its architectural shapelessness, in his day, nothing was more characteristic of the New York of 1895 than "the eating and drinking constantly going on in the restaurants and hotels, of every quality, and the innumerable saloons."[26] To a caustic commentator of the careless 1920s, New York was "the city of the Good Time" —and the Good Time was there "so sacred" that you could "be excused anything you do in searching for it."[27] Even the wartime city of the mid-1940s exhibited a holiday spirit that offended visitors from the battlefronts, until, like Carlos Romulo, they became aware that its surface frivolity was a manifestation of its fighting spirit and that "those who were back out of the blood and mud of the lines were out hunting amusement, too, and finding new courage in such pleasures."[28]

To most observers, the essence of New York was detected more clearly in its entertainment facilities than in its achieve-

[24] Nicasius de Sille to Maximiliaen van Beeckerke, May 23, 1654, in New York State Historical Association, *Quarterly Journal*, I (1920), 102.

[25] "Journal of Josiah Quincy, Junior, 1773," in Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, XLIX (1915–1916), 480.

[26] William Dean Howells, *Impressions and Experiences* (New York: 1896), 271.

[27] Ford Madox Ford, *New York Is Not America* (New York: 1927), 49.

[28] Carlos P. Romulo, *My Brother Americans* (Garden City, N.Y.: 1945), 146, 151.

BARNUM'S MUSEUM (LEFT) AND ASTOR HOUSE (RIGHT), BROADWAY

Watercolor by Augustus Köllner, 1850

The New-York Historical Society

ments in literature and the arts. A visitor of the 1880s called New York "pre-eminently a city of good food, good theatres, fine horses, and pretty women. I believe there is some very good literary and artistic society," she wrote, ". . . but you must dig deeper for it here than in Boston, and I think the superficial social life of ball and opera, bright flowers and charming toilettes, well groomed horses, and jingling sleigh bells is the more characteristic view."[29] Commentators were cognizant of the city's good universities and even more distinguished libraries and museums, by contrast with the resources of other cities; but it was their impression that "the general devotion of the citizens of New York to the Almighty Dollar" made them indifferent to "the literary and art treasures in their midst."[30] The distinction of activities at the Metropolitan Opera House after 1883, which were not without their "Diamond Horseshoe" implications, gave the city a reputation for its musical fare which did not extend to activities in the literary field, despite the increasing concentration of publishing in the city. To be sure, significant literary figures like Irving, Halleck, Paulding, Bryant, Cooper, Poe, Twain, Howells, Sinclair Lewis, and Eugene O'Neill were at one time or another identified with the city; but New York has never excelled, among American cities, as a center of literary talent; and perhaps only Walt Whitman and Thomas Wolfe can be said to have been spiritually attuned to the metropolis. According to Henry L. Mencken, few authors remained in New York who had "anything worth hearing to say."[31] As Allan Nevins put it, "New York has long been the literary headquarters of America—seldom and but briefly its literary capital."[32]

A different story in recent years, however, is the repute of the city for its influence, taste, and resources in the field of the

[29] E. Catherine Bates, *A Year in the Great Republic* (2 vols.; London: 1887), I, 251–52.

[30] James F. Hogan, *The Australian in London and America* (London: 1889), 76–77.

[31] H. L. Mencken, "There Are Parts for All in the 'Totentanz'" (1927), quoted in *The Empire City*, ed. by Alexander Klein (New York: 1955), 416.

[32] Nevins, "The Golden Thread . . . ," 11.

graphic arts. Speaking, in 1929, of the museums and private collections then available in the city, a French traveller contended that New York had become what "Rome was for Corot or Poussin."[33] The social and political upheavals in Europe during the 1930s and 1940s furthered the trend. By the mid-twentieth century, New York gave the appearance of becoming the refuge of Western culture. To some creative talents, it was now "the cultural center of the world." Cecil Beaton reported in 1947 that New Yorkers of that day had access to "the finest contemporary art." "In Winter there is almost too much good music," he wrote. "Foreign pianists, conductors, and singers are continually arriving and departing. The symphony concerts are of the highest quality in the world and Toscanini has as much fame as a cinema star and more power than most politicians. New York audiences are the most enthusiastic and critical in the world." This development, coming to flower in the mid-twentieth century, represents perhaps the most recently acquired ingredient of the city's personality.[34]

This is a trait, however, which is closely related to an aspect of the local scene which has characterized the city from the beginning; and that is the ethnic variety of its population. Before the island trading post was a generation old, it was reported that eighteen languages were spoken in the vicinity. Before long, the religious tolerance of the community and its acceptance of nationality diversity—as well as the job opportunities it had available—attracted and held in the city many of the immigrants who were flooding American ports. Later arrivals found New York attractive because of its closeness to Europe; and in recent years, Europeans have swelled the city's population because of its proximity to the headquarters of the United Nations. Today, the abundance and variety of foreign-language newspapers, for sale at the street corner, the prevalence of restaurants, churches, and movie theatres catering to special nationality groups, and

[33] Paul Morand, *New York*, tr. from the French by Hamish Miles (New York: 1930), 303.

[34] Cecil Beaton, *Portrait of New York* (London: 1948), 121–22.

A CHILD'S FUNERAL IN THE ITALIAN QUARTER OF NEW YORK
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, July 18, 1891

the frequency with which foreign tongues are heard on the street have fostered the impression that New York is more cosmopolitan, more international in personality, than any other American city. But this is nothing new. As early as the 1840s, the Irish and German immigrants who were streaming into the New York port gave rise to the claim that New York was the least "American" of the nation's cities; and, later, as newcomers from Italy, Russia, and many other parts of southern and eastern Europe multiplied the ethnic variety of the city's population, it was often asked, "Is New York America, at all?"[35]

Writers who described the city in the later nineteenth century liked to point out that New York had a larger Irish population than Dublin and that it was the second largest German city in the world. One British traveler reported: "An Irishman landing there cries, 'Be dad! it's fur all the wurrld loike Corrk!' A German exclaims, 'Ganz wie Berlin'; the Chicagoan bluntly asks,

[35] [Domingo F. Sarmiento,] *A Sarmiento Anthology*, tr. from the Spanish by Stuart E. Grummon (Princeton: 1948), 229.

'What's the next train for the United States?'"[36] By the twentieth century, the influence of Italians and Russian Jews upon the city's personality was increasingly apparent, especially in the realm of religion and in the support of the arts. "New Cork" was being transformed into "New Minsk, New Pinsk, or New Naples," according to some observers; and increasing currency was given to the cliché that the city was "built by the Italians, run by the Irish, and owned by the Jews."[37] André Siegfried, who visited New York in 1925, was struck by the increasing evidences of a "fantastic cosmopolitanism," which in his opinion had submerged the city's earlier stock.[38]

The curtailment of immigration, in the twentieth century, brought little diminution in the cosmopolitanism of New York, although, as always, the ethnic pattern exhibited changing hues. The advent of refugees from Nazi oppression increased the Hebraic ingredient of its society; and as the mid-century approached, Negro and Puerto Rican elements grew to be proportionately more numerous and hence potentially more influential in affecting the city's cultural tone. The selection of the Empire City as the site for a permanent home of the United Nations further emphasized the international character of the community. As J. B. Priestley wrote somewhat cynically in 1947: "The New York that O. Henry described forty years ago was an American city; but today's glittering cosmopolis belongs to the world, if the world does not belong to it."[39] Mid-twentieth-century New York was certainly not un-American—for in the dynamism of its economy it symbolized the achievement of the American ideal; but it was an American city with a stronger international outlook and with more overtones of Europeanism in its personality than the other major cities of the nation.

The dynamism of the city's economy reflects, as well, one further persistent feature of New York's personality—the animation,

[36] James H. Bridge [pseud., Harold Brydges], *Uncle Sam at Home* (New York: 1888), 117.

[37] Douglas Reed, *Far and Wide* (London: 1951), 66; Luigi Barzini, Jr., *Nuova York* (Milan: 1931), 5.

[38] André Siegfried, *America Comes of Age* (New York: 1927), 17.

[39] Priestley, "Priestley Appraises New York."

restlessness, and transient, ever-changing character of the physical scene. Today, the city has an uncanny way of transforming parts of itself, almost overnight. This aspect of the contemporary city seemed especially noteworthy to Chiang Yee, China's "Silent Traveller," who visited New York in 1946. This inveterate observer contended that in other places he felt more or less sure that the things and buildings he had come to know would look almost the same upon his return. "I do not have this certainty about New York," he wrote. "When I first went to Park Avenue I noticed a solid old building many storeys high, and in what seemed like a few days it had vanished to make way for a new skyscraper. I realize that I shall be sure to see big changes however soon I shall return to New York."[40] Ever in the process of becoming, New York is never content to be arrived.

Actually, this facet of the city's personality had prompted comment for more than a century. As early as 1839, Mayor Philip Hone laid the cluttered confusion of the streets to what he called the "annual metamorphosis" of the city. "The spirit of pulling down and building up is abroad," he wrote. "The whole of New York is rebuilt about once every ten years." "Overturn, overturn, overturn! is the maxim of New York," he complained, six years later. "The very bones of our ancestors are not permitted to lie quiet a quarter of a century, and one generation of men seems studious to remove all relics of those which preceded them."[41] As the nineteenth century progressed, contemporaries were struck with the transformation of the physical scene that attended the relentless northward march of business and residence on Manhattan Island. William Dean Howells, commenting on this trend in 1913, remarked that New Yorkers were never surprised to return from a vacation and find that an "architectural geyser" had shot up where formerly "a meek little ten-story edifice cowered."[42]

Considerably earlier—in 1855—the Chancellor of the Univer-

[40] Chiang Yee, *The Silent Traveller in New York* (New York: n. d.), 278.

[41] *The Diary of Philip Hone, 1828–1851*, ed. by Allan Nevins (2 vols.; New York: 1927), I, 41, 395; II, 730.

[42] William Dean Howells, "The Editor's Easy Chair," in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, CXXVIII (December 1913–May 1914), 472.

sity of Michigan had described the ever-changing character of New York in terms that are as apt in 1959 as they were a century before. "The city has not only advanced in magnitude, it has also been rebuilt," he said, in addressing the New York Geographical Society in 1855. "The palaces of the last generation were forsaken and turned into boarding-houses, then pulled down and replaced by warehouses. He who erects his magnificent palace on Fifth Avenue today, has only fitted out a future boarding-house, and probably occupied the site of a future warehouse. . . . The New York of today *[and he was writing in 1855]* is not the New York of fifty years ago, and fifty years hence where will [be] the New York of today. . . ?"[43] The Chancellor's predictions were borne out with such repetitive exactness in the ensuing years as to suggest that rapid physical transformation is a law of life as well as an attribute of urban personality on Manhattan Island.

The self-transforming character of New York City has been both cause and consequence of the frenzied tempo of activity which has characterized the New York scene from the later eighteenth century to the present day. Hardly had the defeated British left the war-torn and army-occupied city, at the close of the American Revolution, than visitors were commenting upon the activity which everywhere prevailed. "On all sides houses are rising, and streets extending: I see nothing but busy workmen building and repairing."[44] This was 1788. Fifty years later, in the 1830s, a visitor asserted, "Whoever visits New York feels as he does in a watch-maker's shop; everybody goes there for the true time, and feels on leaving it as if he had been wound up or regulated anew. . . . He hears a clicking as it were on all sides of him, and finds everything he looks at in movement, and not a nook or corner but what is brim-ful of business."[45] The New

[43] Henry P. Tappan, *The Growth of Cities: a Discourse delivered before the New York Geographical Society, on the evening of March 15th, 1855* (New York: 1855), 31–32.

[44] J. P. Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America, Performed in 1788* (2 vols.; London: 1792), I, 161.

[45] Theodore Dwight, *Things As They Are; or, Notes of a Traveller through Some of the Middle and Northern States* (New York: 1834), 31.

IDENTICAL PROSPECTS OF NEW YORK FROM BROOKLYN, 1759 AND 1949

Painting and photograph at The New-York Historical Society

York of this period reminded actress Fanny Kemble of "an irregular collection of temporary buildings, erected for some casual purpose, full of life, animation, and variety, but not meant to endure for any length of time."[46]

Whatever their appearance of transiency in the 1830s, by the later years of the century most of the city's business structures,

[46] Frances A. Kemble [Mrs. Pierce Butler], *Journal* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: 1835), I, 143.

while they remained standing, connoted a stability, security, and sense of power not true, in the same degree, of the urban architecture of many another city. By the late 1880s, steel skeletons lent new support to structures that rose considerably above the "cloud touching edifices" of Walt Whitman's "tall-topt" Manhattan. By the late 1920s the whole city was "being lifted up" to match the occasional "Himalayan pinnacles" of 1898. As early as 1905, a French engineer wrote that "New York gives the sensation of a city of giants more than any other city, even London."[47] To the editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, who visited New York in the mid-1920s, "The dizzy loftiness of the Manhattan skyline" loomed "like a citadel raised on high by the cyclops."[48] The ultimate appeared to be reached with the completion, at the turn of the 1930s, of the lofty Empire State Building, whose 102 stories penetrated rather than just "scraped" the clouds. As E. B. White wrote, New York "managed to reach the highest point in the sky at the lowest moment of the depression."[49] The architectural transformations of the mid-twentieth century, less concerned with height, seem to suggest even more strength. They represent an increasing rejection of the elegant and the decorative in favor of a pattern connoting sheer, uninterrupted power.

Power and magnitude—variety and multiplicity—more of everything: these, also, represent the quintessence of New York City. But like the other qualities of the community to which reference has already been made they are derived from externals. One wonders if there is a "geist," a corporate, community spirit, something that characterizes the community aggregate on and beyond and apart from the individual traits of the eight million who constitute the transient, diverse, variegated population of the Empire City. O. Henry looked for this in 1905 when he sought to catch the Voice of the City—"the composite vocal message of [its] massed humanity." Other cities have voices, he

[47] Eugène d' Eichthal, *Quelques notes d'un voyage aux États-Unis*, excerpts from *Annales des Sciences Politiques* (March 15, 1906), 4.
[48] Arthur Feiler, *America Seen through German Eyes* (New York: 1928), 27.
[49] E. B. White, *Here Is New York* (New York: 1949), 22.

EMPIRE STATE BUILDING FROM ROOF OF RCA BUILDING, 1933

wrote. "Chicago says unhesitatingly, 'I will'; Philadelphia says, 'I should'; New Orleans says, 'I used to'; Louisville says, 'Don't care if I do'; St. Louis says, 'Excuse me'; Pittsburgh says, 'Smoke up'."[50] At about this time the citizens of Milwaukee were beginning to urge their government to undertake activities that in time reflected the presence of a highly developed "civic conscience" —an inward grace of which the outward signs have been its outstanding record for public health and its assumption of community responsibility for its residents' welfare, security, and even pleasure.

But does New York City have an identifiable spirit of this kind? In the opinion of Allan Nevins it does, and he has found it in the essential humanity of the community—or at least of its responsible leaders. In his opinion, the "golden thread in the history of New York" has been the prevailing awareness among its leading citizens "of the indispensability of effort on behalf of the poor and unfortunate," an incidence of humanitarian activity

[50] O. Henry, "The Voice of the City" (1905), quoted in Klein, 400, 401.

FIRST CITY HALL (1658–1697) OF NEW AMSTERDAM AND NEW YORK
Redraft by J. Carlson Brevoort from original by Jasper Danckaerts, 1679–80
Litho. by A. Hayward & Co., 1867, at The New-York Historical Society

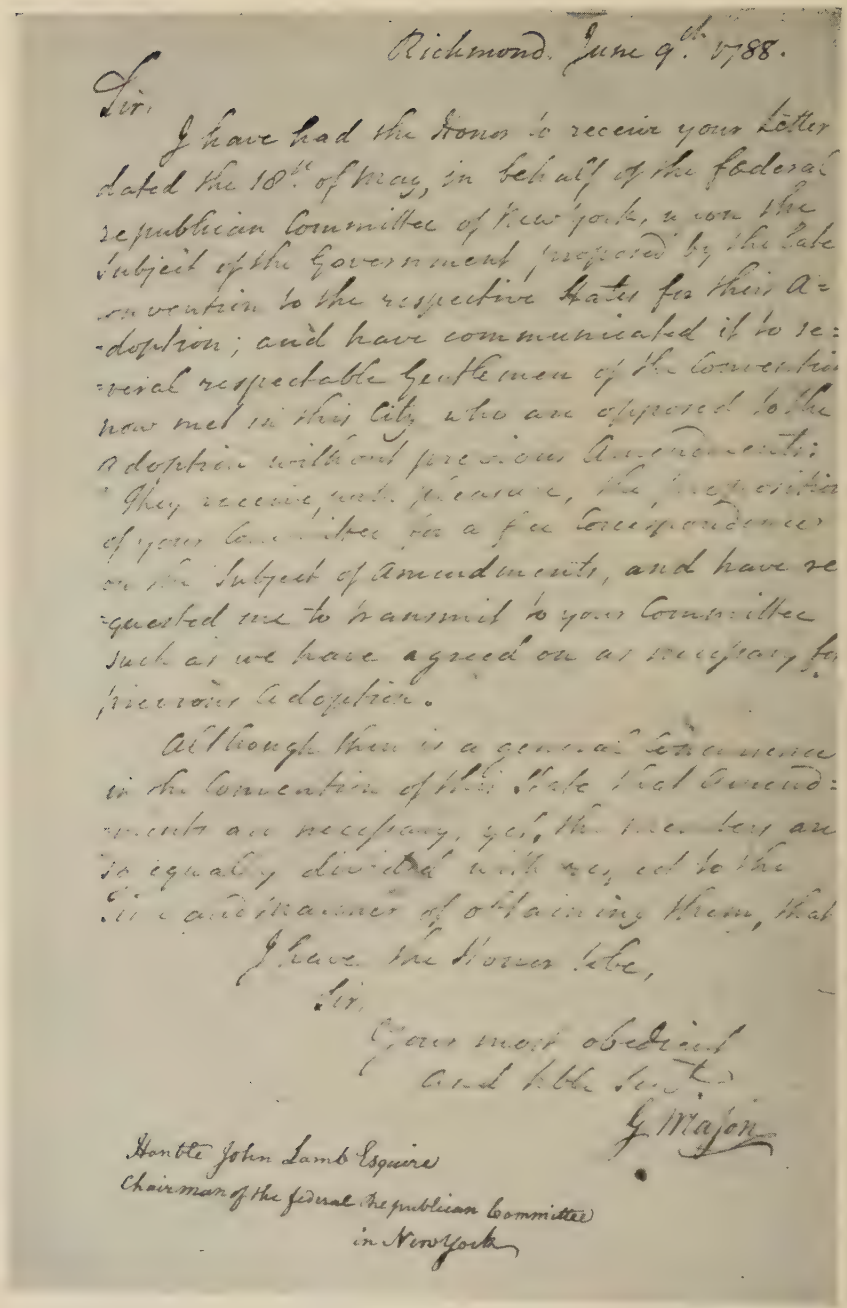
"animated by a sensitive civic conscience, that no other city can quite match."[51] Yet one might object that this humanitarian spirit, despite its existence, is not so pervasive in New York as to represent uniquely a community point of view. However sincere may be the responsibility of the few for the many, it is the attitudes of the many that set the quality of a city. And if there is a spirit of New York apart from the attitudes of its component eight million, it is manifested rather in an acceptance of, than in a concern for, the individual. Thus the reconciliation of individuality with community perhaps suggests best the corporate point of view. Walt Whitman appeared to sense this when he wrote in 1878 that "the current humanity of New York gives the directest proof yet of . . . the solution of that paradox, the eligibility *[that*

[51] Nevins, "The Golden Thread . . . ," 15–16.

is, worth] of the free and fully developed individual with the paramount aggregate."[52] Could it be that this explains why it was that when O. Henry finally found the voice of New York City it was a voice that only he as an individual could hear?[53]

Perhaps it is paradoxical that, in a community so characterized by change, the major attributes of New York City's personality have remained, over the years, essentially the same. Asa Greene's *A Glance at New York*, published in 1837, reflects the variety, vigor, and animation of a New York that, in many ways, was not unlike the city of the present day. "New York is a very great city," he wrote in the mid-1830s; "a very populous city; a very expensive city; a very scarce-of-hotels city; a remarkably religious city; a sadly overrun-with-law-and-physic city; a surprisingly newspaperial city; an uncommon badly watered city; a very considerable of a rum city; a very full-of-fires city; a pretty tolerably well-hoaxed city; and, moreover, a city moderately abounding in foul streets, rogues, dandies, mobs, and several other things concerning which it is not necessary to come to any specific conclusion."[54] In quality, if not always in appearance, Mayor Wagner's New York has much in common with the incipient metropolis of Andrew Jackson's day. It has, even, many of the characteristics which impressed observers as early as the 1650s, when peg-legged Peter Stuyvesant was stumping irascibly around the crooked streets of New Amsterdam. In Stuyvesant's day, Dutch burghers fraternized in the town tavern, earth-bound at the river's edge. Three centuries later, their descendants are lifted seventy stories, on occasion, to socialize closer to the stars. But, in spirit, the community in either era has been essentially the same. From the seventeenth century to the twentieth, contemporaries have found it to be prevailingly commercial, convivial, cosmopolitan, socially tolerant, and almost constantly in a state of change. So persistently have commentators attributed these qualities to the community as to suggest that they do, indeed, constitute the "essence" of New York.

[52] Walt Whitman, *Specimen Days & Collect* (Philadelphia: 1882–1883), 117.
[53] O. Henry, "The Voice of the City," quoted in Klein, 404.
[54] [Asa Greene,] *A Glance at New York* (New York: 1837), 263–64.



Richmond. June 9th. 1788.

Sir,

I have had the Honor to receive your Letter dated the 18th. of May, in behalf of the federal republican Committee of New York, upon the Subject of the Government proposed by the late convention to the respective States for their adoption; and have communicated it to several respectable Gentlemen of the Convention now met in this City, who are opposed to the adoption without previous Amendments. They receive with pleasure, the Invitation of your Committee to a free Correspondence on the Subject of Amendments, and have requested me to transmit to your Committee such as we have agreed on as necessary for previous adoption.

Although there is a general Concurrence in the Convention of this State that Amendments are necessary, yet the Members are so equally divided with regard to the Time and Manner of obtaining them, that

I have the Honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient
and humble Servt.
G. Mason

Hon.ble John Lamb Esquire
Chairman of the federal republican Committee
in New York

GEORGE MASON TO JOHN LAMB, JUNE 9, 1788 (PARTS OF THREE-PAGE LETTER)

The New-York Historical Society

"AMENDMENTS ARE NECESSARY"

by James J. Heslin

Associate Director and Librarian

On June 9, 1788, George Mason, father of the Bill of Rights, sent a letter to John Lamb, an active leader in the struggle in New York State over ratification of the Federal Constitution. Mason's letter, written from Richmond in reply to previous correspondence from Lamb to Mason and other prominent Virginia Anti-Federalists, among them Patrick Henry, commented on amendments to the new Federal Constitution proposed by the Virginia group. Accompanying the letter was a draft of suggested amendments devised by some of the Virginia Anti-Federalists.

For many years a contemporary transcript of Mason's letter and the draft of the proposed amendments have been among the John Lamb Papers in the Manuscript Collections of the Society. The originals, however, have been missing.

Recently, through the good offices of Dr. LeRoy E. Kimball, President of The New-York Historical Society, we received from an anonymous donor a collection of material which consisted largely of letters written to John Lansing, Jr.,[1] of New York. With these items was the original letter written to John Lamb on June 9, 1788, and signed by George Mason.[2]

According to a letter written by John Lamb on June 17, 1788, which also appeared among the recently acquired Lansing material, we now know that John Lamb forwarded George Mason's

[1] John Lansing, Jr. (1754–1829), member of the Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation; Mayor of Albany (1786–1790), was a delegate to Philadelphia Constitutional Convention in 1787. Lansing later became Chief Justice of the New York Supreme Court (1798–1801) and Chancellor of New York State (1801–1814).

[2] To date, the whereabouts of the original draft of the proposed amendments, if extant, is unknown. The gift of Mason's original letter of transmittal prompts the hope that perhaps the original draft of the amendments proposed by Mason and his fellow Anti-Federalists in Virginia may be found.

letter to Governor George Clinton. While we do not know how Mason's letter to John Lamb eventually reached Lansing it is reasonable to assume that Governor Clinton sent the letter to him since Lansing was also a fervent Anti-Federalist.

Although this original Mason letter does not provide any facts which were not known it is a distinct satisfaction to place the original with the John Lamb Papers in our Manuscript Collections where it properly belongs.

The acquisition of this long-lost letter, with its echoes of the great Constitutional debate of the 1780s, brings to mind the outstanding contribution made by George Mason to American constitutional history—a contribution the knowledge of which is largely confined to historians.

Of the brilliant group of great Virginians who were prominent during the Revolutionary period—Washington, Patrick Henry, Madison, Mason and Jefferson—only George Mason has not received his just due from posterity. This lack of recognition would surely have confounded his contemporaries who were in no doubt concerning Mason's abilities and his contribution to his country. Quite likely, Mason's refusal to accept high office, a refusal dictated as much by chronic ill-health and the demands placed upon him by his family and the care of his estate, as by his impatience with the pointless debate which sometimes characterized legislative assemblies, may help to account for his subsequent lack of fame.

George Mason was born in 1725[3] and his education, as was frequently the custom at the time, was at the hands of private tutors. In addition he had access to the splendid library of John Mercer who became young Mason's guardian in 1735 on the death of his father. The results of his reading were evidenced in later life by the grasp of constitutional and legal knowledge which he demonstrated.

The protest in Virginia against the Stamp Act of 1765 marked

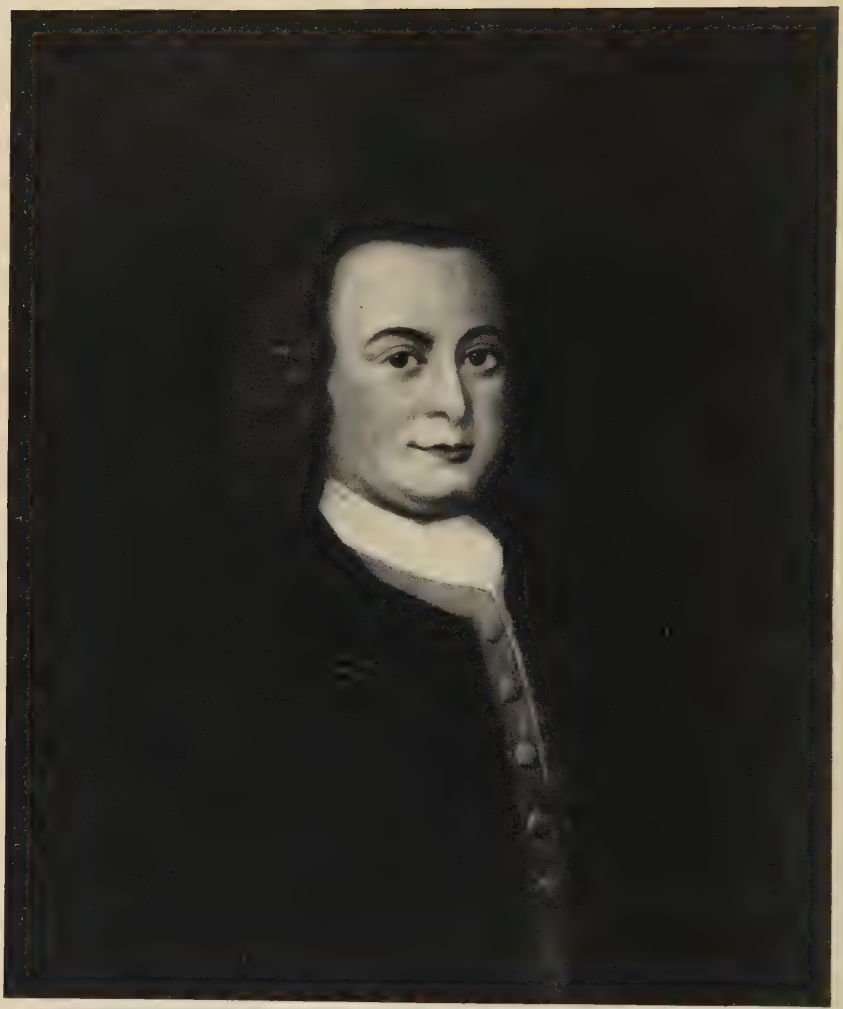
[3] The day and month have not been determined. The year is recorded in the Family Bible at the time of his marriage. Kate Mason Rowland, *The Life of George Mason* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892), I, 48.

Mason's entry into Virginia political life as an outstanding spokesman against British rule. It was natural enough that in 1774 he should become the able advocate of the rights of the colonists against the Boston Port Bill by which Lord North's government hoped to subdue Massachusetts. It was this legislation which prompted Mason to write the Fairfax Resolves of July 18, 1774,[4] in which, with courage and logic, he stated the grievances held against Britain, outlined a procedure for cutting off trade, and urged a Congress of all the colonies.

Until Washington left to take command of the Continental Army at Cambridge in 1775, he and his neighbor, George Mason, worked closely together in guiding the opinion of Virginia. Inevitably, in view of his ability as a spokesman for the colonists' cause, it was Mason, the Constitutionalist, who was a major figure in the Virginia Convention of May 1776 which framed the famous Virginia Declaration of Rights, an important part of the Virginia Constitution. The first statements which boldly claimed "That all men are created equally free and independent and have certain inherent natural rights . . . ," foreshadow even in phraseology the Declaration of Independence for all the colonies. As a result of his labors George Mason, in 1778, could write with quiet satisfaction to his cousin, "this was the first thing of its kind upon the continent and has been closely imitated by all the States."[5] In his Declaration of Rights, which was, of course, a Bill of Rights, Mason maintained, among other ideas, that all power is vested in the people and derived from the people; that men in capital or criminal prosecutions have a right to trial by jury; that cruel or unusual punishment ought not to be inflicted; and that the freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty.

Mason supported the cause of independence throughout the Revolution. After the war had ended, he, no less than Washington, was troubled by what many men regarded as the inadequa-

[4] Twenty-four of the twenty-six Resolves are in Mason's handwriting.
[5] Rowland, I, 237.



GEORGE MASON (1725–1792)

Author of the Virginia Declaration of Rights
and father of the American Bill of Rights

Portrait by unknown artist in possession of Mrs. William Beverly Mason

cies of the Articles of Confederation. It was logical, therefore, that any movement toward a revision of the Articles should incorporate the abilities and services of George Mason. He became one of the delegates from Virginia to the Philadelphia Convention in 1787, and his intelligence and personality were such as to evoke the following comment from William Pierce, one of the delegates from Georgia: "Mr. Mason is a Gentleman of remarkable strong powers, and possesses a clear and copious understanding. He is able and convincing in debate, steady and firm in his principles, and undoubtedly one of the best politicians in America."[6]

The Convention to revise the Articles of Confederation was authorized to meet in Philadelphia on the second Monday in May, 1787. On that day, May 14th, relatively few delegates appeared and only Pennsylvania and Virginia were able to present a quorum. Gradually, however, the tardy members reached the city until finally, on Friday, May 25, 1787, with enough delegates on hand, the Convention got under way.[7]

In its resolution of February 21, 1787, the old Continental Congress emphasized that the delegates were in session "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation." There was, in any case, no unanimity among the people for drastic revision of the Articles, and memories of British rule made a strong central government suspect. Though the delegates were united in a desire for some kind of revision of the existing government, the extent and nature of this revision varied according to individual theories.

Considering the short span of independence enjoyed by the new nation it was an outstanding gathering. Some of the fifty-five members were young men—Alexander Hamilton was only thirty years old, Gouverneur Morris thirty-five, and James Madison thirty-six—while Washington, who was unanimously elected President of the Convention, was fifty-five. The oldest delegate

[6] Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911), III, 94.

[7] Farrand, I, 16.

was Benjamin Franklin who, at eighty-one, could still provide knowledge and wit on occasion.[8] Taken as a group, the intelligence and wisdom of the members did credit to their country.

The history of the Philadelphia Convention has been told too often to need retelling here. By Saturday, September 15th, the work of the delegates was finished and the Constitution ordered to be engrossed.[9] The following Monday the members met for the last time and all present, except Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, George Mason and Edmund Randolph of Virginia, signed the document. The delegates had worked earnestly during the summer of 1787 (under a self-imposed injunction of secrecy which was to be used as an argument against the Constitution by its opponents) and the outcome of their efforts was a practical, sensible document. "The Constitution that is submitted is not free from imperfections," Washington wrote, "but there are as few radical defects in it as could well be expected. . . ."[10] The next step was to obtain ratification in nine States.

Although seven of the State constitutions had a Bill of Rights[11] the question of incorporating one into the new Federal Constitution seems not to have arisen until September 12, 1787. On that day George Mason, in the course of a discussion of jury trials in civil cases, proposed that a Bill of Rights be included by the delegates. This proposal would, he thought, ". . . give great quiet to the people . . . ,"[12] but no State supported Mason's views. The absence of a Bill of Rights, plus the compromise which permitted the existence of the slave trade for twenty more years were the

[8] The youngest delegate was Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey who was twenty-six years old.

[9] Farrand, II, 633.

[10] George Washington to David Humphreys, October 10, 1787. John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of Washington* (Washington: U.S. Gov't Printing Office, 1939), XXIX, 187.

[11] Georgia, New Jersey, New York, and South Carolina had no Bill of Rights in their constitutions; Connecticut and Rhode Island had no written State constitutions. Surprisingly little has been written concerning the Bill of Rights. Two fairly recent studies are valuable: Edward Dumbauld, *The Bill of Rights* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), and Robert Allen Rutland, *The Birth of the Bill of Rights: 1776–1791* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1955).

[12] Farrand, II, 587–588, 628.

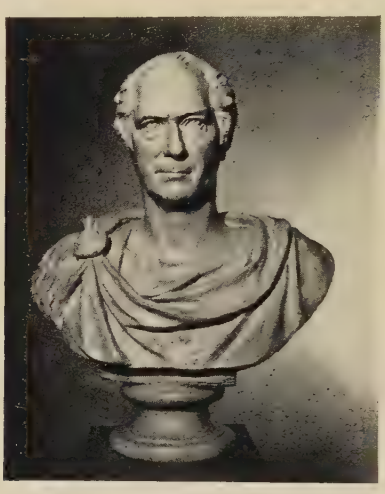
basic reasons why George Mason refused to sign the Constitution, and on his return to Virginia he worked against ratification. Shortly after the vote against his measure, Mason wrote his *Objections* to the new Constitution and these were soon printed for distribution throughout the States. "There is," wrote Mason in his *Objections*, "no Declaration of Rights, and the laws of the general government being paramount to the laws and constitution of several States, the Declaration of Rights in the separate States are no security."[13] Mason emphasized this point since many of the delegates saw no need for a specific listing of rights in view of similar statements in some of the constitutions of the individual States. Concerned by the authority vested in the proposed Federal government, which would, as he observed, be paramount to the States, George Mason insisted that such matters as the liberty of the press, trial by jury in civil cases, etc., should be inserted as a protection for liberty.

The question next became a matter for discussion among the people. The Anti-Federalists, as those opposed to the Constitution were called, included not only men like Patrick Henry, who bitterly opposed the Constitution in general, but others such as Elbridge Gerry in Massachusetts, who would consider the Constitution acceptable if it included amendments guaranteeing the rights of the citizen.

To devise a new Constitution in view of the conflicting interests of the States involved was a major accomplishment, but equally important was the ratification of the document by nine States. The action of Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, and Georgia, in ratifying the Constitution without undue delay was heartening to the Federalists, as the supporters of the Constitution dubbed themselves, but for a really effective union the consent of the key States of New York and Virginia was necessary. In New York, however, there was formidable opposition to ratification which was skillfully directed by Governor George Clinton.

[13] Rowland, *George Mason*, II, 387–90.

In 1787, George Clinton was serving his fourth term as governor of New York. Although he had been reelected without any real opposition, there were signs of developing party factionalism within the State. Some of the Federalists were probably as much anti-Clinton as pro-Constitution and, in turn, many of the Anti-Federalists were strong Clinton adherents without decided feelings against the Constitution. There were Clinton supporters,



GEORGE CLINTON (1739–1812)

By Giuseppe Ceracchi

The New-York Historical Society

however, who were genuinely disturbed by the absence of a Bill of Rights and viewed the omission as dangerous.

To the least observant it should have been clear that Governor Clinton would oppose the new Constitution. Clinton was not against revision of the Articles of Confederation; it was a question, rather, of how far revision should go. Clinton's attitude toward a stronger national government could have been predicted from his sturdy opposition to the request of the Continental Congress that the impost duties be collected at the port of New York and turned over to Congress to be used for the benefit

of all the States. In an Act passed in 1781, the New York Legislature agreed to the request of Congress but Clinton saw the procedure as a distinct invasion of the rights of the State. In 1783, Congress adopted resolutions recommending that the States grant Congress the authority to levy certain duties on imports, the revenues for which were to be applied to the payments of debts contracted during the war. These levies were not to extend for more than twenty-five years, and Congress also insisted on the power to supervise the collectors of revenue appointed by the States. New York again granted the revenues to Congress but once more reserved to the State the power of supervising the collectors. Despite a further request from Congress in 1786 that Clinton call a special session of the legislature to enact laws in conformity with the wishes of Congress, Clinton made no move to do so. In fact, when the regular session opened in January 1787, the Governor referred to the issue without any particular emphasis and a majority of the legislators reflected his lack of interest. New York continued as before to collect and supervise revenues and then grant them to Congress.

As a delegate from New York to the Continental Congress in 1783, Alexander Hamilton had expressed his opposition to Clinton's policies concerning the collection of revenues—a natural outgrowth of Hamilton's attitude toward a strong federal government. Clinton's actions in frustrating the wishes of Congress were an expression of his genuine belief in States' rights but the patronage aspect involved in the collection of revenues was probably of interest to the Governor as a political leader.

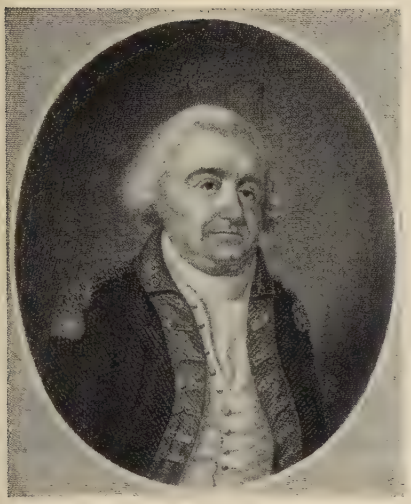
Fully aware of Hamilton's views on national sovereignty, Clinton, nonetheless, did not oppose Hamilton's election as one of New York's delegates to the Philadelphia Convention, but he saw to it that the other two members of the delegation, Robert Yates and John Lansing, Jr., were strong supporters of States' rights. Lest there be any doubt of the role of the delegates in Philadelphia the three men were specifically authorized to work solely for the revision of the Articles of Confederation.

During the summer of 1787, as the members of the Philadelphia Convention were meeting in secret session, Yates and Lansing withdrew as delegates when it became clear to them that the Convention was going beyond proposed revision of the Articles of Confederation. With Hamilton the only remaining delegate from New York, the State, as a consequence, had no vote in the Convention, since the vote of a State could only be cast by a majority of its delegates. When the Constitution was completed Hamilton signed the document, for which action he was openly rebuked by Clinton.

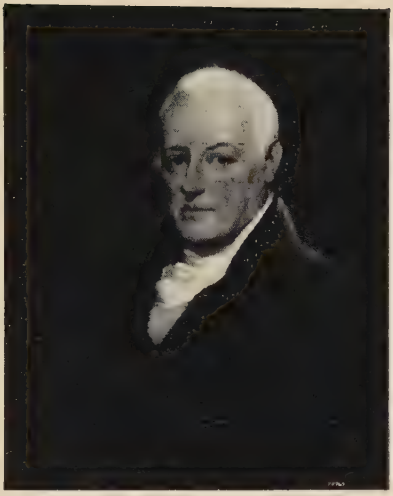
As early as May 24, 1787, the Governor and his adherents had begun their "campaign of education" against the Constitution. The return of Yates and Lansing, who reported to Clinton that the Convention was violating its instructions, added to the distrust felt by those who were already disturbed by the air of secrecy surrounding the proceedings in Philadelphia. When Congress finally transmitted the work of the Convention to the States on September 28, 1787, the Constitution created a storm of opposition in New York. Clinton himself wrote a series of articles which first appeared in the *New-York Journal* on September 27, 1787, in which, over the name of "Cato," he advanced his views against the proposed Constitution. These articles produced, in reply, another series written by Hamilton, Jay, and Madison which became known as the Federalist Papers.

Throughout the rest of the year and well into 1788, the press in New York carried arguments for and against the Constitution. Many of the writers expressed themselves far more violently than did Clinton, Hamilton, Jay, and Madison. Both sides inevitably appealed to popular prejudice and the chances for ratification in New York seemed remote.

On January 9, 1788, the New York Legislature opened its annual session at Poughkeepsie, and in his opening address Governor Clinton merely reported the results of the Federal Convention. It was not until January 31st that Egbert Benson (first President of The New-York Historical Society) moved the calling of a State convention to accept or reject the new Constitu-



JOHN LAMB (1735–1800)
Engraving by J. N. Gimbrede
The New-York Historical Society



JOHN LANSING, JR. (1754–1829)
By Ezra Ames, 1829 (FARL photo)
Owner: Mr. Francis S. Crowell

tion. The Anti-Federalists, especially the erstwhile delegate to the Philadelphia Convention, Robert Yates, strongly opposed the move but on February 3d it was decided to hold a ratification convention. The Governor may have hoped that a policy of watchful waiting would be the most advantageous strategy but Benson's determination had forced the issue and the battle would now be fought in the convention.

In general, the Federalist strongholds were New York City and Westchester County while the Anti-Federalists drew most of their strength from the rest of the State. Governor Clinton led the opponents of ratification of the new Federal Constitution, assisted by Robert Yates, John Lamb, John Lansing, Jr., and Melancton Smith. Alexander Hamilton was the leader of the Federalists and he was supported by John Jay, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, James Duane, Mayor of New York, Egbert Benson, and Richard Morris.

The situation in New York State, in which the Anti-Federalists appeared to be so powerful, encouraged similar-minded men in other States, and there was communication between the New

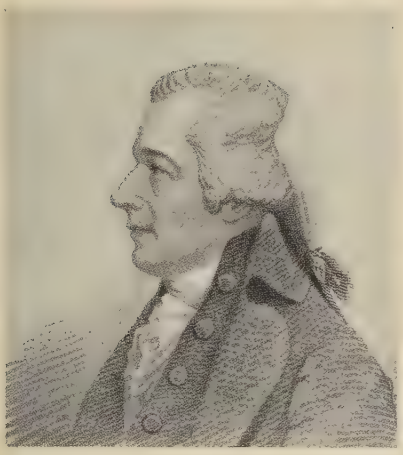
York Anti-Federalists and their counterparts in Virginia. It was, therefore, natural enough for George Mason to forward suggested amendments guaranteeing personal liberties to a New York Anti-Federalist Committee under the direction of John Lamb. Lamb's open antagonism to the work of the Convention had marked him as one of the Anti-Federalist leaders in New York. So outspoken was he that on one occasion a Federalist mob in New York City threatened his house; this prompted Lamb, no doubt recalling his Revolutionary War experience, to fortify it. There were tactics of the Revolution also in the creation of Committees of Correspondence among the Anti-Federalists to exchange news of developments in the fight against ratification of the Constitution. Mason had, in fact, sent his letter of June 9, 1788, with the proposed amendments by a special messenger (Colonel Oswald) because the post office in New York was under Federalist control.

Beginning on June 17, 1788, the State Convention to consider ratification of the new Federal Constitution met at Poughkeepsie. Chancellor Robert R. Livingston opened the debate on June 19th with a graceful speech in which he admitted that the proposed Constitution was not the answer to every ill but he believed that "our existence as a State depends on a strong and efficient Federal Government."[14] On the following day John Lansing replied for the Anti-Federalists[15] and the debate was on.

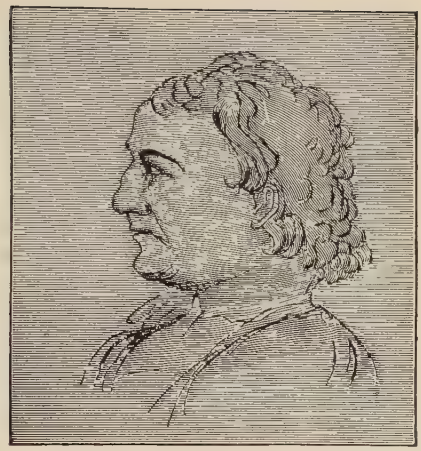
As the ratification convention continued it appeared that the Clinton forces were certain to win. Their policy was to avoid outright rejection of the Constitution, which might have severe political repercussions, and work instead for a prolonged adjournment. Clinton was convinced that the Federal Constitution would prove ineffective but in the event that it did meet with success, New York could enter the Union later. The Federalists on the other hand, were determined to have New York ratify the

[14] McKesson Papers (MSS Journal of the Convention of 1788), The New-York Historical Society.

[15] Jonathan Elliott, *The Debates . . . on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution* (Washington: 1836), II, 219–22.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON (1755–1804)



MELANCTON SMITH (1744–1798)

Constitution because of the importance of the State and the effect its ratification would have on the country in creating an atmosphere of acceptance toward the new government.

For over a month debate continued and before long the two principal antagonists in the convention were Alexander Hamilton and Melancton Smith. After two weeks the interest of the delegates shifted from consideration of economic matters to the absence of guarantees of liberty. Many of the delegates were genuinely concerned by the lack of a Bill of Rights. Melancton Smith, for example, was not so strongly opposed to the Constitution as was Governor Clinton, being prepared, as he stated, ". . . to sacrifice anything for a union except the liberties of his country."[16] He was not alone in this attitude and during the discussion it must have occurred to some of the Federalists that it had been a mistake in Philadelphia not to have accepted George Mason's proposal concerning a Bill of Rights.

In the midst of the debate news reached the New York convention that Virginia had ratified the Constitution on June 25, 1788. Although the vote of New Hampshire, on June 21, 1788, had made the Constitution valid, the action of Virginia, a State as

[16] McKesson Papers.

important as New York, offered proof that there was strong support for the new government. If the events in Virginia produced dismay in the ranks of Clinton's adherents there was no decrease in their determination. The debate went on and John Lansing's remark when he learned of New Hampshire's ratification probably summed up the feelings of the Anti-Federalists when they learned what had happened in Virginia. Lansing was not impressed by New Hampshire's ratification because, he told the convention, "it is still our duty to maintain our rights."[17]

Actually, the contest was ending and finally Melancton Smith, the most able of the Anti-Federalist debaters, announced that he had been persuaded by Hamilton's arguments. The fight was over. Clinton, who had taken little part in the debate advised his friends to vote for ratification, and on July 26, 1788, the Federal Constitution was ratified *with a recommended bill of rights.*[18] Federalism had won in New York but by the narrow margin of three votes, 30 to 27.[19]

Governor Clinton, who had suffered a major political defeat, promised to work for harmony,[20] although his good intentions, as future political developments were to show, did not extend to Alexander Hamilton. For the moment Federalism was triumphant. In New York City, always strong for the Constitution, a great procession had been held on July 23, 1788, just a few days before the final vote, and the *Daily Advertiser* of July 26th claimed that the celebrations were ". . . to the novel entertainment of all classes of people." On July 29, 1788, the *New-York Packet* observed that ". . . a general joy runs through the whole city and several of those who were of different sentiments drank freely of the Federal bowl and declared that they were now perfectly reconciled to the New Constitution."

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States*, House Doc. No. 398, 69 Cong., 1st Sess., 1039–44.

[19] North Carolina did not ratify the Constitution until November 21, 1789. Rhode Island did not ratify until May 29, 1790.

[20] There was a genuine need to do so. On July 4, 1788, a clash between Federalists and Anti-Federalists in Albany had resulted in the death of one man and the wounding of eighteen others.

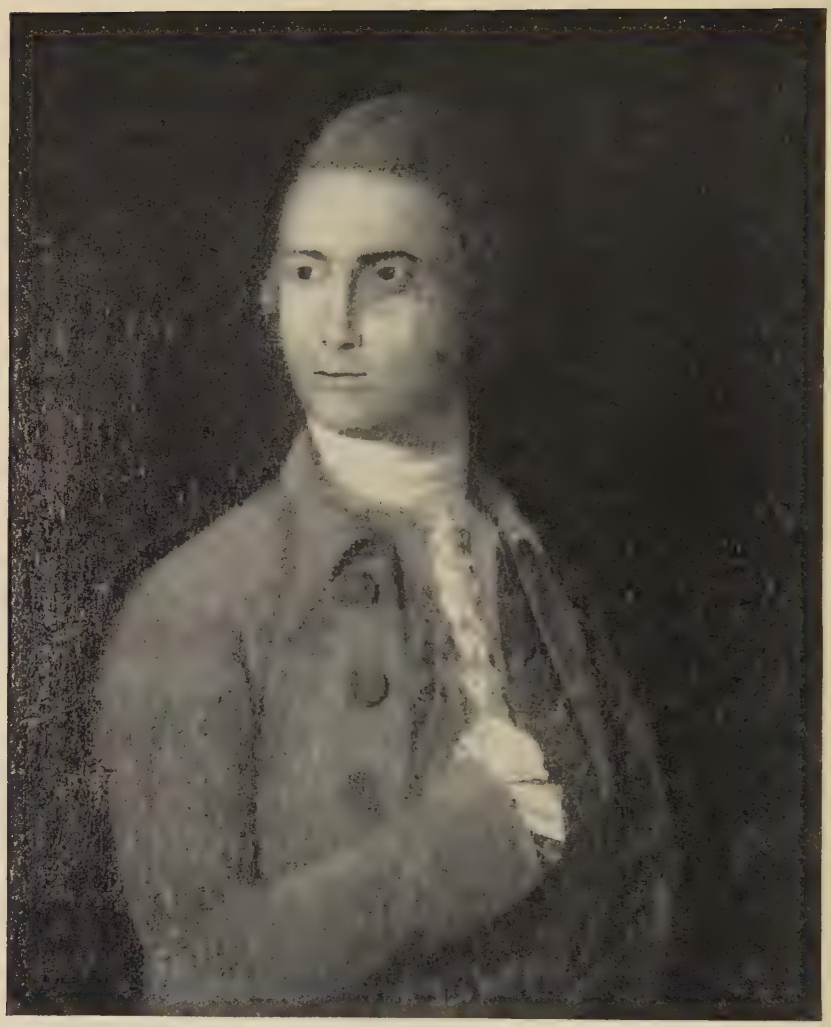
Anti-Federalist activity did not entirely cease when the Constitution was ratified. Throughout the fall of 1788, a Committee of Correspondence spread the news that the Constitution had been ratified for the sake of union but that a new convention was needed to work for necessary amendments including a Bill of Rights. Either the prospect of another Federal convention or the wish of the people to grant a fair trial to the new Constitution, or both, acted to allay most of the animosity which had been present. The decided advantages of the new government plus the prospect of a forthcoming Bill of Rights to be added to the Constitution caused organized opposition to subside gradually.

Ironically, Virginia, first of the States to have a Bill of Rights in its constitution, was the last of the necessary eleven States to ratify the first ten amendments to the Federal Constitution on December 15, 1791. It was a Virginian, however, who piloted the Bill of Rights successfully through the new Congress. James Madison, who had seen no necessity for supporting the views of Mason when the latter had proposed a Bill of Rights in the Philadelphia Convention in 1787, was largely responsible for its enactment in Congress in 1789.

George Mason, in 1790, pursuing his usual policy with regard to public office, refused to accept a seat in the Senate when it was offered to him by Governor Edmund Randolph of Virginia. But, as had also been his policy, he continued to act as counsellor to men who were in public affairs. Jefferson visited Mason whenever possible and during their last meeting on September 30, 1792, Mason, as Jefferson noted,[21] talked of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. This is the last time that Mason's comments were recorded and shortly thereafter, on October 7, 1792, George Mason died at Gunston Hall.[22] He had, fortunately, lived long enough to see a Bill of Rights become part of the Federal Constitution.

[21] Rowland, *George Mason*, II, 363–65.

[22] Gunston Hall on the Potomac River in Fairfax County was formally opened to the public in 1952 as a memorial to George Mason. A Board of Regents elected from the National Society of Colonial Dames of America is in charge.



SIR JOHN JOHNSON (1742–1830)

Signed in monogram by John Mare, 1772

Owned by the State of New York (in Johnson Hall, Johnstown, N. Y.)

JOHN MARE'S PORTRAIT OF SIR JOHN JOHNSON

by Milton W. Hamilton*

THE DISCOVERY of a youthful portrait of Sir John Johnson, son of Sir William Johnson, is a welcome addition to the picture gallery of one of New York's most important Colonial families. And its attribution to John Mare (1739–*c.* 1795), known for his depiction of a small number of New York worthies in the 1760s and '70s, helps to fix that artist more securely as a Colonial portraitist. Although the existence of this painting has been known for many years, it was wrongly called a portrait of Sir William Johnson and as such was given little credit.[1] In his study of other portraits of the Johnsons, the writer located the portrait in question, which proved to be in bad condition. After its acquisition by the State of New York,[2] it has been carefully restored by Mr. S. J. Fishburne. Its history and identification make a fascinating story.

Sir John Johnson at the time this portrait was painted in 1772 was one of New York's most promising young men. Scion and heir of Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Colonies, he would inherit landed wealth, social position, and political influence. Born November 10, 1742,

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[1] James Sullivan, "Portraits of Sir William Johnson," in *Johnson Papers,* II, xii, wrote: "A fourth painting said to be of Sir William is in the possession of William L. Bryant, 1231 Elmwood Avenue, Buffalo, N. Y. It is so unlike Johnson in every detail that nothing but doubt may be said to surround the claims for its authenticity. Numerous letters which passed between Sir William George Johnson and William L. Bryant's father show that at first the former showed no confidence in the belief that it was taken for a portrait of Sir William. Then by one of those common episodes in self persuasion he became convinced from a series of doubtful tales that it truly was an authentic portrait."

[2] From William C. Bryant the portrait passed to his son, William L. Bryant (1871–1947) of Buffalo, from whose widow, Mrs. Helen Bryant, of Providence, Rhode Island, it was acquired by the State of New York in 1956.

and raised in the Mohawk Valley, he well knew the problems of the frontier with which his father was constantly grappling. He had accompanied his father on several expeditions into the wilderness and undertaken some missions on his own. He went to Niagara with Sir William in 1761, on the way to Detroit, and in 1762 he received an ensigncy in the army. He was educated briefly in Philadelphia where at the age of 17 he was reported as "still backward in writing and ciphering." As he reached his majority, his father became conscious of his need to know more of society and of his future responsibilities. By Sir William's patent he was to be knighted after he had become 21, so a visit to London was arranged. In 1765 he went to England with Lord Adam Gordon and in December of that year was knighted by George III. After visiting Scotland and Ireland, he returned to America in 1767.

Sir William wrote at the time that the purpose of the trip was "to try to wear off the Rusticity of a Country Education," but there were other motives. One of these might have been a match with some prominent English heiress, and it was probably a disappointment to Sir William that upon Sir John's return he took as his mistress a person beneath his station, one Clarissa Putnam. A few years later, after several visits to New York, a marriage was arranged with Polly Watts, daughter of John Watts, a well-to-do merchant and correspondent of Sir William, and this was consummated in 1773. It was just prior to this social event that the portrait in question appears to have been painted. Sir John's role as a vigorous Tory during the Revolution, particularly his leadership of forces which despoiled the Mohawk Valley, have clouded his reputation. From the Loyalist standpoint, however, he was a staunch leader and was amply rewarded by the King. After the Revolution he assumed his father's role as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Canada, and occupied a position of power and influence in the neighborhood of Montreal, where he died January 4, 1830.

Two portraits of Sir John Johnson in later life are known.

One is represented by an engraving, which bears the notations, "Drawn by W. Harvey from the original. Engraved by H. Robinson. By Abbott, 1793."[3] It shows an attractive and cultured young man, with wig, well dressed, and holding a book. The original must have been by a good artist, for it no doubt flatters or idealizes the subject.

In the possession of the family in England was a pastel of Sir John of a later date. Since this was accompanied by a pastel of Lady Johnson, taken from a sketch by St. Memin dated 1797, it may be assumed that Sir John's portrait was also made near that date. This shows a man of mature years with thinning hair, fair and with blue eyes. It bears some of the characteristics of the other portraits.[4]

The portrait now attributed to John Mare was acquired by William Clement Bryant (1830–1898), of Buffalo, who in the latter half of the nineteenth century wrote a number of articles dealing with the Tories in Canada. In 1873 he cultivated the acquaintance of Sir William George Johnson, fourth baronet in succession to Sir William's title. A bachelor living with his three spinster sisters at St. Mathias, Quebec, Sir William George was stirred by Bryant's interest in him and his forebears. William L. Stone's *Life and Times of Sir William Johnson* had appeared in 1865. The frontispiece was an engraving of the portrait now known as by Thomas McIlworth.[5] Bryant wrote to Stone, who replied May 26, 1873:

Your letter is at hand. In reply would say this *The Original* of the engraving of Sir William in my life of him, is a portrait, which is a *copy*

[3] Copy in McCord Museum, McGill University, Montreal. Printed as frontispiece in *Johnson Papers*, Vol. XI.

[4] Acquired by the State of New York in 1956, it now hangs in Johnson Hall. Another pastel sketch is now in the McCord Museum. It came from the family, through the fifth baronet, Sir Gordon Johnson.

Two St. Memin sketches of Lady Johnson are known: one is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the other in the McCord Museum, Montreal. The small circular engraving made by St. Memin is in the *St. Memin Collection of Portraits* (1862), where it is dated 1797.

[5] See article by Susan Sawitzky, "Thomas McIlworth," in *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXV, April 1951, 117–139.

from a *supposed* original in the possession of a nephew of Sir John who resided in England, but who is lately (that is within 15 years) dead. My father has the copy taken from one in England.[6]

Bryant then wrote to Sir William George inquiring about the original of the portrait of Sir William which Stone had reproduced and received the following reply, dated St. Mathias, May 20, 1873:

. . . With regard to the portrait you speak of, I fear that I cannot give you positive information; many years since when quite a boy and previous to my leaving for England I remember seeing in my father's house a portrait in oil—life size—of Sir W. J. but it appears very little care was taken of it, as it was then in a very delapidated condition. On my return to Canada many years after, it had been lost sight of altogether. But since I received your letter, I made a search for it, and I am glad to say it has been found but in a musty and torn state. This portrait is evidently not the same as that which illustrates Stone's Life of Sir William as the dress is different and the features also, it must I think be an original as it came from Sir John & he would have been the most likely person to have such a thing in his possession.[7]

Mr. Bryant invited the baronet to be his guest in Buffalo and then to visit the Mohawk Valley and the Johnson homes. On this trip Sir William George apparently brought along the supposed portrait of Sir William, as well as a pastel of Sir John. The latter was a companion piece to the portrait of Lady Johnson by St. Memin made in 1797. Both were copied by an artist employed by Mr. Bryant.[8] He was writing an article on Sir John in which

[6] Typed copy in New York State Division of Archives and History. In 1921 when State Historian James Sullivan was studying these portraits he corresponded with Dr. William L. Bryant in Buffalo. Dr. Bryant, to support his claims for the John Mare portrait as of Sir William Johnson, sent to Dr. Sullivan 21 letters which passed between his father, William C. Bryant, and Sir William George Johnson, and this one letter from William L. Stone. Before returning the letters, Sullivan made copies of those which pertained to the picture, and these are now in the Division of Archives and History. In 1956 Mrs. Helen Bryant delivered some of the original letters along with the portrait. The collection is referred to below as "Bryant Correspondence."

[7] Bryant Correspondence.

[8] *Ibid.*, September 27, 1873. The baronet referred to the copies being made as follows: "I find that the oval containing Sir John's portrait, measures 9 inches by 7½ across including a gilt edge of ½ an inch the ground outside the oval is white & the whole is framed with a 2 inch square moulded frame ornamented at the corners I mentioned all these merely in case it should be necessary to the artist, the face

he used a woodcut of the pastel when it appeared in the *American Historical Record*, August 1874.[9]

The artist employed by Mr. Bryant to make a copy of the portrait of Sir John, also made a small one of Bryant's supposed oil portrait of Sir William. This copy Mr. Bryant sent to Sir William George,[10] to take the place of the original which he had purchased.

Apparently Bryant still wished assurance that the portrait was one of Sir William, for on January 6, 1874, the baronet wrote:

> In answer to your question I would inform you that I have ascertained from a person who knew both my Father & Sir John and was about 18 years of age when the latter died in 1830 that both the above named gentlemen pronounced it to be the portrait of Sir W^m^. Johnson and that my Father obtained it from Sir John. This is reliable. When the portrait was taken in 1772 Sir W^m^. must have been aged exactly 57 having died in 74 aged 59. Artists as a rule make the person represented more youthful than they should be, the colours will invariably tend to that end. I have now before me a "Vol of the London Magazine" or Gentlemen's Monthly Intelligencer, Vol XXV for the year 1756. I find at page 432 a print representing Sir W^m^. Johnson, in comparing it with that which forms the Frontispiece of Stone's Life of Sir W^m^. I do not observe any resemblance between the two. I cannot say that I see much with the one you sent me either, though I have not got it by me having left it in Montreal to be framed, as also the Photo. . . .[11]

The letter goes on, as does a subsequent letter, about Sir John and his homes in Canada and England—material for Bryant's article. But then it reverts to evidence that the oil really was of Sir William—an error, as we shall see.

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measures about 3½ inches by 2⅜ inches but should it suit the artist better to make it larger it will be equally agreeable to me as I have Lady Johnson's portrait which exactly matches Sir John's. . . ." Thus it appears that he had matching portraits of Sir John and Lady Johnson—the crayon sketch of her by St. Memin and the pastel of Sir John—probably those now in the McCord Museum, mentioned in note 4.

[9] *American Historical Record*, III, August 1874, 340–44. A woodcut of Sir William George Johnson also accompanies the article.

[10] Acknowledging the receipt of this copy, the baronet wrote, January 6, 1874: "I was indeed much pleased with the reduced portrait of Sir W^m^. and think it a perfect copy with perhaps the exception of its representing him as a more youthful person than the original as I remember it sufficiently."

[11] Bryant Correspondence. The engraving referred to in the *London Magazine* is an unsigned copy of the so-called Spooner mezzotint of Sir William. The latter is shown in *Johnson Papers*, II, 160; the *London Magazine* engraving, *ibid.*, II, 224.

I am delighted to inform you that whilst writing this letter, I have received further proof that the portrait you now have in your hands is that of Sir William; an old gentleman, Notary by profession, states that many years since he had occasion to attend at my grandfather's residence for several weeks in succession on professional business and that he well remembers the portrait in question being pointed out to him by Sir John himself as being Sir William observing at the same time that the Americans had great regard for him (Sir W.) the Notary further states that many years after when taking the Inventory at our house after my Father's death, he came across the identical portrait which had been pointed out to him by Sir John and which is the one now in your possession, he went so far as to describe the dress and position mentioning the hand across the chest placed in the buttoned coat I now feel perfectly convinced by this gentleman's statement, whose veracity is not to be doubted, that our portrait is the veritable & original one of Sir W. I knowing how much interest you take in the matter it is very gratifying to have been able to obtain such positive evidence on the subject. . . .[12]

In spite of such assurances, William C. Bryant seems still to have entertained some doubts, for his last located article on the Johnsons did not use this portrait as an illustration.[13] Nevertheless, he did finally permit it to be engraved as a portrait of Sir William.

During Sir William George's visit to Buffalo in 1873 he had been entertained by William Pryor Letchworth (1823–1910) at "Glen Iris," Portage, New York, the residence which is now a part of Letchworth Park. Letchworth was much interested in Indian archeology, and he and Bryant apparently planned a book or article on Sir William. For this Mr. Letchworth had an engraving made of the portrait which Bryant had acquired. A print of this engraving now hangs in the Letchworth Park Museum, and is labeled "Sir William Johnson." It was drawn by A. Will and engraved by Timothy Cole (1852–1931).[14] With the doubt which he expressed regarding the Bryant portrait, Dr.

[12] *Ibid.* Sir William George (1830–1908) was the son of John of Point Olivier, Montreal (1782–1841), and so the grandson of Sir John, whom he never knew. The third baronet was his uncle, Sir Adam Gordon (1781–1843).

[13] "Johnson Hall, in the Mohawk Valley," *Potter's American Monthly*, IV, No. 37 (January 1875), 2–7.

[14] No other copy of the engraving has been found, nor its use in any publication. Mr. Letchworth in 1898 published a revised and more fully illustrated edition of James E. Seaver's *A Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison*, and for this he had

Sullivan printed this in the *Johnson Papers*, II, 128, captioned "The Johnson (?) Portrait (at Buffalo)."

The small copy of the portrait was kept by Sir William George, who subsequently married and returned to England, and died in Nice, France, January 27, 1908. It was then transferred with other heirlooms to the fifth baronet, Sir Edward Gordon Johnson (1867–1957) of Montreal, who then succeeded to the title. It was sold by him in 1934 to S. H. P. Pell, and thus made a part of the museum collection of Fort Ticonderoga. Mr. Pell was told by Sir Gordon that it was an original of Sir William which had come to him through his uncle, and was originally owned by Sir John.[15]

An examination of the Ticonderoga portrait reveals that it is indeed a nineteenth-century copy, measuring 6½ by 9 inches, on canvas-faced board, framed under an oval mat.[16] Comparison with the restored original, and with the etching, shows that the copy was reduced, head and shoulders, thus cutting off the hand thrust in the buttoned coat, so characteristic of the original.

Thus it is quite clear that the portrait in oil recently acquired from Mrs. Bryant is the one discovered by Sir William George Johnson and by him sold to William C. Bryant. The correspondence quoted indicates how the original doubt about the subject was resolved to the satisfaction of Mr. Bryant, who indeed wanted a portrait of Sir William. The baronet made every effort to confirm this idea, but his evidence was dubious. Dr. William L. Bryant was so confident of the attribution as he had it from his father that, December 23, 1909, he wrote Dr. A. J. F. Van

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made two portraits of grandsons of Mary Jemison, drawn by A. Will and engraved by Timothy Cole. Published lists of the work of Cole contain no reference to the Johnson portrait.

[15] Letter of S. H. P. Pell to Peter Nelson, May 23, 1934, enclosing copy of letter of Gordon Johnson to Mr. Pell, Montreal, March 31, 1934.

[16] Printed on the cover of *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, VI, No. 2, July 1941, with the caption "William Johnson at 22." It is apparent that Sir Gordon believed this to be Sir William. Yet the writer was led to question this when he learned from Mrs. Ada S. C. Graham, Vancouver, B. C., an old friend of Sir Gordon, that she had known this portrait of "Sir John in a scarlet military coat" which hung in Sir Gordon's dining room at Chambly and at Montreal. She identified it from a photograph.

Laer: "I can see no resemblance between this portrait and those of Stone's Life of Johnson, but I think Mine is better authenticated than his."[17] Dr. Augustus H. Shearer examined the portrait for Dr. Sullivan and wrote to him, January 14, 1921: "Stone said he found the picture in Ireland from which he made his engraving and that it was 'said to be' Sir William Johnson, but Stone's picture was of a fat pudgy man, whereas Bryant's is of a long rangey man, which agrees more nearly with Johnson's character as being a hunter for recreation, and a man of great activity."[18]

Dr. Bryant was anxious to sell his portrait, for which he had so much documentation, and he expressed his belief that it should be where it would receive better care. But Dr. Sullivan in a postscript of January 10, 1922, gave a *coup de grace* to the negotiations:

> You will be interested in knowing that we have just acquired here in Albany a portrait of Sir William Johnson which was made in 1750. We have the letter from Johnson himself authenticating the portrait and it has been placed on exhibition in the Albany Institute and Historical and Art Society.[19]

Thus with the acquisition of the Wollaston portrait in Albany, better documented than the others, there was new doubt concerning the portrait owned by Bryant.

In all of this little attention was paid to the signature and date on the painting, although the date, 1772, was mentioned by Sir William George, and the signature, a monogram, and date were copied by Dr. Shearer in 1921. For the portrait showed a man far too young for Sir William at the age of 57. His son, Sir John, however, would then have been but 30 years of age. Knighted, and on the threshold of a marriage of social importance, Sir John had good reason to have his portrait done. After his father moved

[17] Bryant Correspondence.

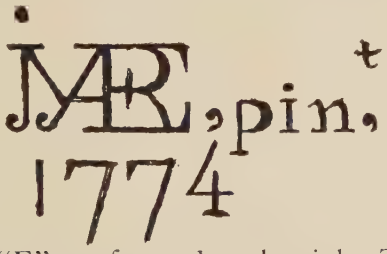
[18] *Ibid.*

[19] *Ibid.* The Albany Institute portrait was subsequently identified as by John Wollaston (active 1749–1767), and has been widely reproduced. See, for instance, *Johnson Papers*, II, frontispiece; and the writer's article in *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XLII, October 1958, 318. See also discussion in my article in *Autograph Collector's Journal*, Spring 1952.

into Johnson Hall, completed in 1763, Sir John occupied Fort Johnson, which the records of the period show he was busy in furnishing. A portrait painter setting up business in Albany in 1772, where Sir John was a frequent visitor, provided a welcome opportunity.

Comparison of this portrait with the later portraits of Sir John shows points of resemblance—the narrow, aquiline nose, the high forehead, the large, intent eyes, and the small mouth with thin lips. Even the bearing, making allowance for differing artistic styles, conveys the impression of a young man of vigor, capable of wilderness adventures and military campaigns, soon to be his lot.

Restoration confirmed the age of the portrait, and that the signature and date were original. The signature, unlike those of the artist's earlier works which were fully written out, is a monogram identical with one used by Mare on his 1774 portrait of Dr. Benjamin Young Prime now at The New-York Historical Society.[20] The left stem of the letter "M" forms a "J" with a dot over it. A short bar makes an "A" out of the right half of the "M",



and an "R" and "E" are formed to the right. The date, 1772, is to the right and a little below. Comparison with the known works of Mare as shown in the study of Helen Burr Smith, reinforces the attribution. All but one of the identified portraits of Mare show a hand thrust in the buttoned waistcoat, and all but two have the flared ruffled cuff at the wrist of that hand. The second hand is shown in only one of his portraits. Meticulous in his

[20] The Prime portrait is reproduced in *Annual Report of The New-York Historical Society for the Year 1953*, 82. An accurate drawing of the monogram and date from the Prime portrait is reproduced herewith (actual size) by courtesy of Mrs. Ingrid-Maerta Held, Painting Restorer of the Society.

depiction of buttons, ruffles and decoration, Mare also liked his faces in high color. Highlights of the eyes are at the upper left of the pupil. All his portraits are waist length and posed three quarters front. The portrait of Sir John has all of these characteristics or traits. In contrast with later portraits of him, it has the somewhat wooden stiffness of the other works of Mare.[21]

The biography of John Mare shows many ways in which he must have been called to the attention of the Johnson family. Born in 1739 in New York, he married Ann Morris in 1759 and moved to Albany, where his son John was christened in 1760 by the Reverend John Ogilvie.[22] The latter was rector of St. Peter's Church in Albany and the Anglican missionary to the Mohawks. As such he was patronized by Sir William Johnson, with whom he journeyed on trips to the Mohawk country. He had also served as Chaplain on Sir William's Niagara expedition in 1759, and was to leave Albany shortly as Chaplain for the troops sent to Oswego, and eventually to Montreal. He spent his later years at Trinity Church, New York, where he died in 1774.

The first known portrait by John Mare was that of Henry Livingston, at Poughkeepsie in 1760. The next year he painted Robert Monckton, the royal governor, at New York. In 1765 he was commissioned to paint a portrait of George III for the City of New York, and the following year painted the portrait of Sir Henry Moore, another royal governor.[23] Hence he was in favor with the official group, who were friendly with or associates of the Johnsons. Sir Henry Moore, in particular, visited Johnson Hall in 1766.[24]

The latest date in the professional record of John Mare, except for the "pin^{t} 1774" on his Benjamin Prime portrait, is

[21] Helen Burr Smith, "John Mare (1739–*c.* 1795) New York Portrait Painter," *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXV, October 1951, 355–99.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] *Johnson Papers*, XII, 210, 204. See also p. 384, where Sir Henry Moore recommends that Sir John be given command of a "Regiment of Horse."

January 1772, when he returned to Albany and advertised in the *Albany Gazette* of January 27, 1772:

> Albany, the 13th January, 1772. Mr. Mare, Portrait Painter, purposing to reside part of this Winter in Town; has taken Lodgings at the House of Mr. John Prince, and will be much obliged to such Gentlemen and Ladies, as may choose to favour him with their Commands.[25]

It is not known how long Mare stayed in Albany, but Sir John Johnson passed through Albany several times during this year. He and Colonel Guy Johnson were in New York in December 1771, and returned to Johnson Hall about the middle of January 1772.[26] In July 1772, Governor Tryon and party set out for Johnson Hall. They were to stop in Albany en route where Sir John and Colonel Guy Johnson were to meet them.[27] The Governor stayed "a fortnight" and returned about the middle of August.[28] It is probable that Sir John and Guy may have accompanied the party to Albany on its return journey. Later, in November, Sir John went to New York in company with the two granddaughters of Sir William, whom he placed in boarding school there.[29] Guy was serving in the Assembly until late in February 1773, and Sir John was consummating arrangements for his forthcoming marriage to Polly Watts.[30] Thus it is apparent that Sir John passed through Albany repeatedly in the year in which John Mare set up his studio there.

It is one of the vagaries of the history of American art that this portrait remained so long unknown and improperly identified. For the student of Sir William Johnson and his family it is a link in a chain of information about a man who has been little understood. For the student of early American art it is one more example of an early painter, whose work has been only recently classified.

[25] Cited by Helen Burr Smith, *loc. cit.* The only extant copy of this issue is in the Massachusetts Historical Society.
[26] *Johnson Papers,* VIII, 345, 359, 370; and XII, 932.
[27] *Ibid.,* VIII, 543.
[28] *Ibid.,* VIII, 562–63; XII, 982.
[29] *Ibid.,* VIII, 641.
[30] *Ibid.,* VIII, 689–713 *passim.*

JOHN PINTARD (1759–1844)

By John Trumbull, 1817

Painted for The New-York Historical Society

JOHN PINTARD (1759–1844)

THE FIRST CITY INSPECTOR OF NEW YORK

by David L. Sterling

New York State College for Teachers, Albany

IF WE REMEMBER John Pintard at all today, we remember him as the founder of The New-York Historical Society and the New York Bank for Savings and as an important member in a veritable catalogue of New York cultural, religious, and philanthropic societies. But Pintard was something more than a leader of New York's cultural circle. His interest in the city was varied; his contributions multiple; and his achievement as the first City Inspector of New York largely unwritten.

In January 1804, John Pintard visited Mayor DeWitt Clinton at his home on Broadway, and as a result renewed an acquaintanceship which had begun fourteen years before.[1] As Mayor of New York, as the acknowledged leader of a powerful Republican faction, Clinton was in a position in which he might help Pintard considerably. In the swarm of sycophants who congregated in his home like bees after honey, the Mayor was impressed by and drawn to his former friend. Pintard was perhaps less obvious than others. He would refrain from political comment. He would not try to ascertain the opinions of the Mayor, and then boldly assert them as his own. He would neither fawn nor scrape. He grew to admire Clinton; Clinton came to respect Pintard; and when the office of City Inspector was established by the Com-

[1] DeWitt Clinton Diary, 1803–1828, List of Visitors, January 1804, The New-York Historical Society: Clinton and Pintard first met in 1790 when both were members of the Holland Lodge. In June 1790, Clinton was proposed as an initiate, and in July he was accepted into the mysteries of Masonry. In December 1790, Pintard was unanimously elected Master of the Lodge, and one of his first acts was to select Clinton as the Junior Master of Ceremonies. Holland Lodge No. 8, Minutes, 1788–1799, June 24, July 2, December 17, 24, 1790; John Pintard, "Notes Respecting the Acquaintance of J. Pintard with the Late Governor Clinton," Typescript, John Pintard Papers, The New-York Historical Society.

mon Council in March 1804, the Mayor, knowing of his friend's past record as an Assistant Alderman, probably suggested and certainly approved of Pintard's appointment.[2]

John Pintard was City Inspector of New York for five years from 1804 to 1809 and Clerk of the Corporation beginning in 1807 and ending in 1809. As City Inspector he was in a difficult position, one which required patience, aptitude, and persistence. No one likes to open the door of his home to a snoopy investigator who looks into the cellar and at the privy, who inspects the drains, examines the backyard, shakes his head dubiously, and then, frowning, leaves the householder to wonder what will happen next. The prerequisites of Pintard's job were tact, intelligence, and devotion; the boundaries of his position were sufficiently broad to include all that might be reasonably and unreasonably classified under the nebulous title of "nuisance." Pintard became the city's statistician. He served on a census committee, recorded the births and deaths in New York, assembled data on the number of taverns and boarding houses, and devised a method by which the number of firemen in the city could be better calculated. He established precedents and accepted new responsibilities. At his own suggestion he was empowered by the Common Council to improve the condition of the city streets; by its direction he was appointed to committees to "devise alterations in the Police Office," and to provide "an effective plan for furnishing the city with a more abundant supply of water for public exigencies." He drew up ordinances and reports for filling in lots, cellars, and yards, for cleaning privies and streets, for building piers, for appropriating funds for the assistance of the poor. He suggested to the Council improvements in methods of fire prevention, in the care and use of Corporation records, in

[2] Pintard, "Notes Respecting . . . Governor Clinton," *op. cit.* With authorization from the State Legislature, the Common Council of New York created the office of City Inspector on March 19, 1804, and appointed George Gosman to the position; a week later Gosman resigned and Pintard was appointed to replace him. *Laws of the State of New York, 26th Session* (Albany: 1804), 191–201; *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1784–1831* (19 vols.; New York: 1917), III, 477 [hereafter cited as *M.C.C.*].

the law for preventing "nuisances" and providing "for the security of the public health."[3]

The office of the City Inspector, under Pintard's supervision, became a full-time position. He worked long hours and with a sense of dedication. He understood some of the problems of city administration. He recognized that a diffusion of responsibility in committees and commissioners could result in inefficiency and irresponsibility. He consulted with experts and accepted their suggestions. In 1806 he addressed the Council in a report recommending changes in the law for "preventing and extinguishing of Fires." He had asked the engineers and the fire wardens to review the law as it was written, and to make recommendations based on their firsthand experience. He suggested means by which the duties of the magistrates and "the several subordinate departments [would be] more distinctly delineated and facilitated."[4]

All of this work was done for a salary which amounted to no more than $1,300 a year. The salary is itself a measure of the time which Pintard devoted to the duties of the City Inspector. In one quarter from August 6th to November 12th, 1804, he was paid $322; at $3.50 a day this would signify that he had worked a total of ninety-two days during the three-month period.[5] His activities could be tiring, trivial, unrewarding, even amusing. His office at City Hall was open to an assortment of cranks and crusaders, to the irate New Yorker who had slipped in the street and wanted to know why something was not done about the hole at Wall Street and Broadway, to the more constructive petitioners who suggested that the streets of the city be paved, to the militant neighbors of the African Zion Methodist Church who

[3] *M.C.C.*, III, 487, 584, 649–50, 654, 703; IV, 93, 361; New York *Daily Advertiser*, August 7, 9, 1804; Reports of the City Inspector, February 10, April 2, 1806, December 1, 1807, February 19, April 13, June 15, 29, October 10, 1808, Municipal Archives and Record Center. In 1806 Pintard reported to the Council that there were 455 boarding houses in the city, but admitted that this was probably an inaccurate count; the next year he reported that New York's population was 83,530.

[4] Reports of the City Inspector, October 13, 1806.

[5] *M. C. C.*, III, 628.

protested against the odors arising from an underground vault where 750 former members of the congregation were buried. He established quotas for boarding houses, decided whether unlicensed dogs should be put to death, negotiated contracts for cleaning streets. He asked the Common Council to provide an office for the City Surveyor "in order to facilitate public business"; after a severe fire in 1807, he reminded the Council that "no contract exists between . . . it and the Manhattan Company to afford a supply of water against the exigencies of fires," and he suggested as a further precaution that City Hall and other public buildings be insured against fire damage.[6]

The results of Pintard's perseverance were uneven, and the contemporary evaluations of his effectiveness contradictory. The City Inspector, it must first be pointed out, was not the only official responsible for the condition of New York's streets and for the implementation of city health measures. Pintard had to work with and depend upon the discretion of the individual Inspectors of Lots who examined houses and other buildings in the separate wards of the city, with the Street Commissioners and the Superintendents of Scavengers and Lamps who were similarly occupied with problems of street lighting and cleaning, with the Commissioners of the Health Office who saw to it that the quarantine laws were carried out and obeyed. The same ordinance which broadened the jurisdiction of the City Inspector by implication also made his powers ambiguous. Pintard had no authority to direct the Street and Health Commissioners, the Inspectors and Superintendents, in their duties; he could only rely upon his powers of persuasion to effect desirable objectives. He could advise, suggest, concert; he could not prescribe; he could not resolve conflicts of jurisdiction.

Authority diffused makes authority irresponsible; Pintard, therefore, cannot be praised or blamed for the condition of the

[6] *M. C. C.*, III, 550–52; Reports of the City Inspector, January 20, February 10, 1806, February 9, May 11, August 10, 1807; New York *Daily Advertiser*, July 6, 1804, May 9, 1805.

city at a particular time. But contemporary New Yorkers did assign him at least a part of the responsibility for the state of city streets, and he accepted it. Newspaper editors and correspondents seldom praised his efforts; more often they complained about his shortcomings. In July 1804, the New York *Daily Advertiser* did the exceptional when it complimented the Corporation for its "extraordinary exertions . . . to improve the city and remove every existing cause of nuisance that could endanger the public health." The editor of the *Advertiser* alluded then to the work of the City Inspector. "Numerous ordinances," he pointed out, "have been passed to remedy every evil, and to provide, as far as human means extend, against every hazard. . . . More has been accomplished within a few months past towards the general improvement of the city, especially the ancient part, by filling up damp cellars, sunken lots, and removing noxious substances of every description than has been done at any former period."[7] But two years later Editor William Coleman of the *New York Evening Post* did the more usual when he complained that he could not remember when "domestic filth [was] more offensive and spread in greater quantities over streets," and in November 1806, A Citizen made further accusations in the same newspaper.

> A person *[he remarked]* going into our City Hall, and peeping into the apartment called the Street Commissioners office, and seeing there one gentleman called the City Inspector, another the Street Commissioner, a third the Deputy Street Commissioner, a fourth the Superintendent of Lamps, and a fifth the Superintendent of Scavengers with all their parade of Clerks, books, papers, plans, proposals, maps, ordinances, reports, etc. would certainly and most naturally conclude that the Streets of New York were kept in the best possible order, well paved, nicely cleaned and handsomely lighted.

But these assumptions, tested by experiment, proved to be quite wrong. The visitor to City Hall, walking home, would find the streets of New York clotted with mud, the sidewalks broken, and the lamps providing no light "to guide his stumbling steps."

[7] New York *Daily Advertiser*, July 23, 1804.

The conclusion, according to A Citizen, was inescapable; the office "full of street managers did not perform their duties."[8]

The life of a City Inspector was indeed a hard one; Pintard, under fire, could fill an official report with evidences of annoyance. "Since the last meeting of the Common Council," he wrote in June 1806, "every effort has been exerted by the City Inspector and his coadjutors to obviate the numerous complaints, just & frivolous, respecting the uncleanliness of the public streets." The City Inspector was evidently angered by popular criticism. He realized that as a public official, he would have to "submit to a full share of censure." He reminded the Council, however, that "universal satisfaction [was] impossible," and that "clamour will be excited notwithstanding the utmost vigilance and exertion." He assured his superiors that they could depend upon his department to "remedy every reasonable cause of complaint with promptitude." Pintard concluded his report with an appeal for support. He would not accept the verdict of newspaper critics. He would, instead, trust the opinions of the Common Council "who alone are adequate to judge of his duties and his zeal to discharge them."[9]

The extent of Pintard's "zeal" was exemplified by his conduct during the yellow-fever epidemic of 1805. It was nothing short of courageous. During the winter of 1805 the New York State Legislature passed an act establishing a Board of Health, and, through the authority granted by this law, the Common Council enacted an ordinance appointing as members of the Board the Mayor, Recorder, and the Aldermen of the first five wards of the city. The City Inspector was added to the Board in July 1805, just before the first rumors of yellow fever began to spread through the city streets.[10]

There had been reports of at least two cases in the Wallabout area on Long Island, but the Board of Health denied their validity and promised to inform New Yorkers when and if the rumors

[8] *New York Evening Post,* June 6, November 28, 1806.

[9] Reports of the City Inspector, June 16, 1806.

[10] *Laws of the State of New York, 28th Session* (Albany: 1805), 85–88; *M. C. C.,* IV, 243; New York *Daily Advertiser,* July 20, 1805.

became a reality. On August 8th the Board fulfilled its pledge, reporting a case of yellow fever in the city itself. There could no longer be a legitimate doubt; the familiar symptoms of high temperature, jaundiced skin, bleeding gums, and the sickening black vomit had been observed by the attending physician. In this case the patient died; by October 1805 there were 606 cases in all and 302 New Yorkers succumbed to the ravages of the dread disease. "In the course of the last eight days," reported the New York *Daily Advertiser* in September, "no inconsiderable number (between 50 and 60) of our fellow citizens have been suddenly swept from the stage of existence, and are gone forever."[11]

It is perhaps impossible to convey the sense of fear and horror which gripped a city during a 19th-century epidemic. The metropolis lay quiet and helpless; the newspaper, governmental and business officers, and over a quarter of New York's population prudently fled to the village of Greenwich, and some even went farther. The atmosphere was muffled and mournful; the doctors impotently and shrilly argued the sources of the disease, but did little to combat it; the death cart made its ominous rounds; the wasted bodies of victims were interred unceremoniously in Potter's Field. Shops closed their doors; people stayed at home; men smoked "segars" as a measure of precaution; a headache or a sore throat was magnified and heightened into the beginnings of yellow fever. Would I, or my brother, daughter, or mother, be the next victim?[12]

If John Pintard considered this question as he walked the deserted City of New York, he remained impassive and probably answered himself by referring to the will of God. He moved his office into the Board of Health building at Chambers Street and

[11] New York *Daily Advertiser*, July 20, August 8, September 16, 1805; James Hardie, *An Account of the Malignant Fever which prevailed in the city of New York during the autumn of 1805* (New York: 1805), 195.

[12] John Lambert, *Travels Through Canada and the United States* (London: 1814), II, 82–84. Lambert, an English visitor to New York in November 1807, discussed the yellow fever epidemic of 1805, and stated in part that "many physicians were buzzing their brains about its origins at a time when they ought to have been devising means to stop its ravages." *Ibid.*, II, 83; New York *Daily Advertiser*, September 12, 1805.

Broadway, kept it open from nine to six, visited the hospital at Bellevue daily, spoke with the patients, recommended improvements in their care, and transmitted his melancholy findings to the Common Council. The Board of Health became an interim government; it met daily; it superintended the night watch to forestall looting; in September it advised New Yorkers to evacuate affected areas and it erected temporary buildings at Bellevue for the reception of the sick and the indigent. Pintard stayed in the city through the duration of the epidemic. September 13, 1805: "The City Inspector Reports that during the twenty-four Hours ending Thursday 12th 7 P. M. 24 cases of Malignant Fever and 4 deaths have occurred." September 14, 1805: "Cross Street is in an abominable State. 100 Cart loads of pure earth ought immediately to be carted to cover the filth."[13] Pintard inspected the road leading to Potter's Field (the present Washington Square Park) and told the Board of Health that its decayed condition made it "very hazardous" for the hearses to carry away the dead. He stated that the water supply at Bellevue was short, and he attempted to remedy the situation. He advised the Board that the cook at the hospital was "a drunkard and riotous," and that she had been dismissed at his order. On October 2d he wrote that the wards were crowded "beyond measure"; on the same day he reported that the resident physician had fallen victim to the disease and was in a critical condition; and on the 17th he informed the Board with a certain perverse humor that "appearances at the Hospital [were] somewhat like the weather, gloomy."

> Two deaths *[Pintard stated indignantly on October 14th]* have occurred [at the hospital] since last night. One a negro woman found last night on a stoop of a house corner of Roosevelt and Oak Street by the watch and sent to the Hospital in so low a state as to be incapable of giving any account of herself. She died a few minutes after arrival. Some enquiry ought to be made concerning this inhuman exposure.[14]

Pintard made his last report to the Board of Health on November 12, 1805, three weeks after the Board had certified that the

[13] New York *Daily Advertiser*, September 5, 14, 16, 1805; Reports of the City Inspector, September 13, 14, 1805; *New York Evening Post*, September 9, 1805.

[14] Reports of the City Inspector, September 15–17, October 2, 14, 17, 1805.

BOARD OF HEALTH OFFICE (RIGHT), CHAMBERS ST. AT BROADWAY

New City Hall under construction (left, with Brick Church steeple showing above it); the Bridewell (center); St. Paul's (right)
Watercolor by Baroness Hyde de Neuville, February 1808

The New York Public Library

epidemic was over and that it was safe for evacuees to return to the city. The City Inspector first summarized the admissions and deaths at the hospital, and then with some warmth described what the conditions at Bellevue had been like during the epidemic. Pintard reminded the Board of Health that the hospital at Bellevue had been established on "the spur of the occasion, and on the presumption that the fever would never recur again." But surely this was a sanguine and unrealistic estimate: "fatal experience has proved otherwise and points to the conviction that we may expect attacks from this insidious disease." Pintard was not a pessimist; he was right. He visited the wards at Bellevue; he saw the suffering and the hardship; he received the complaints of patients; and he knew that they were justified. The wards, particularly those reserved for men, were in "every way inadequate to the wants of the patients or the comfort of the nurse and physicians." The hospital was too small, and even the minimum requirements of sanitation could not be maintained despite the devotion of the attendants. The overcrowding caused

an unfavorable psychological reaction among the patients; "those newly arrived were evidently depressed by the surrounding scenes of malady and the groans and shrieks of the convulsed and dying subjects."

The City Inspector proceeded finally from past history to future planning. There was a lesson in the story of the epidemic. There was an answer to the problem. Pintard believed that the Corporation would have to take more responsibility for providing hospital care for its citizens. He emphasized that permanent buildings with better facilities were "absolutely necessary." He thought that expenses of a public hospital might be defrayed by a private establishment, operated by the City, and built for "such persons as may be in circumstances to pay for comfortable accommodations."[15]

Few New Yorkers, disputatious as they were, would criticize the behavior of the City Inspector during the epidemic of 1805. While many of them escaped to the relative safety of Greenwich, Pintard remained behind and maintained the limited facilities which the city offered its distressed inhabitants. He worked diligently, efficiently, humanely. He looked after the wants of the doctors and nurses, the needs of the patients, and the physical conditions of the wards. He made suggestions, carried out instructions, kept the dreary statistics of the epidemic. On November 14, 1805, the Board of Health issued a final accounting to the people of New York, and in this report the members recognized and praised the record of the City Inspector. "Nor can they omit to mention," the report read, "in terms of highest approbation the unremitted attention of the City Inspector in arranging the business and executing the orders of the Board, in all its multifarious details."[16] To stay in the city during the yellow-fever epidemic was an obligation of his office; in this and in many other ways, John Pintard fulfilled the duties of the office of City Inspector without reservation and with dedication. He helped to make New York a better home for its citizens.

[15] Quoted in Hardie, *op. cit.*, 116–17.
[16] *Ibid.*, 93; New York *Daily Advertiser*, November 14, 1805.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Theatre U. S. A. 1668 to 1957. By Barnard Hewitt. (New York, Toronto, and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959. xi + 528 pages, illus., biblio., index. $7.50.)

Reviewed by George Freedley, *Curator, Theatre Collection, The New York Public Library.*

This is a badly needed theatre reference book which has the unusual grace of easy reading. The distinguished professor in the Department of Speech at the University of Illinois has gathered a substantial portion of extant writings about the American theatre from its 17th-century, hesitant beginnings down almost to the present day. Naturally, what he reprints with his usual pertinent comments becomes more and more selective as he approaches the present century, until he can select but a single highlight from the scattering of major plays and productions since 1900. That is as it should be, as so much has been written about contemporary theatre in this country which is still in print.

The great value of Professor Hewitt's study lies in his studious searching out of extant early records and making them so easily accessible in this pertinent volume. It is, in its compactness, a great boon to the beginning theatre scholar, and of value to us all no matter how far we may have progressed along the road of study of our native drama and theatre. There have been but three predecessors in this century. The first and most valuable of these was Arthur Hobson Quinn's painstaking study of drama as opposed to the stage. The second, Arthur Hornblow's volumes devoted to the theatre, is marred by errors of fact and judgment. The third is Glenn Hughes' fine but lesser and more popular study of the American stage to 1950.

This is a splendidly illustrated volume which has drawn lavishly from America's great theatrical libraries and museums. We can all be endlessly grateful for Professor Hewitt's inspired research that combines scholarship with grace of style.

Rhode Island Politics and the American Revolution, 1760–1776. By David S. Lovejoy. (Providence: Brown University Press, 1958. 256 pages, maps, biblio. essay, index. $4.50.)

Reviewed by Clifford P. Monahon, *Director, Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, R. I.*

David S. Lovejoy's *Rhode Island Politics and the American Revolution, 1760–1776*, is a much needed book, for this particular period of Rhode Island's history has never before been so well studied. Profes-

sor Lovejoy has chosen one of the most uproarious times in the entire history of the colony to write about, and he has done this in a scholarly and penetrating fashion.

The struggle for power in Rhode Island had its origin as far back as 1730, when the Greene and Ward families were lined up against the Wanton adherents for control of the government. The Wantons engaged the support of the powerful Brown family in Providence, who brought with them Stephen Hopkins, one of the most astute politicians in the colonies. By 1760 leadership in Rhode Island had devolved upon Hopkins and young Samuel Ward of Newport and Westerly, and a rough-and-tumble struggle for the control of the colony had begun.

This was not an idealogical contest between the two men. They were concerned not with colonial or American affairs but with local matters: control of the legislature and appointments to political offices. Rhode Island was characterized at this time by dirty politics, and votes were freely bought by both factions.

Although a bitter struggle existed between Ward and Hopkins, with no holds barred, it was not entirely personal. Neither was it a social struggle as the historian, William B. Weeden, claims, since both factions contained elements from all classes and professions. Nor was it entirely geographic, for although Ward drew most of his constituents from southern Rhode Island, he had the support of Elisha Brown of Providence, and Hopkins of Providence had the support of the Wantons of Newport.

In general the Hopkins element had the upper hand in the struggle. Hopkins was elected governor annually from 1758 to 1762 and from 1763 to 1765 and in 1767 and 1768. Ward held the office in 1762–1763 and 1765–1767.

Both factions, despite local disagreements, were opposed to any extension of British control over Rhode Island, since both realized that the encroachment of the mother country on Rhode Island liberties would threaten the colony's political system, which was so rewarding to the dominant faction. Both Ward and Hopkins were equally obdurate in their refusal to aid official British investigation of various clashes between officers of the Crown and Newport townspeople.

Several attempts had been made to bring about a compromise between the factional groups, and finally in 1768 a coalition was effected. Hopkins and Ward withdrew from the running, and the various offices were divided between the two parties. The next year, however, the Hopkins party put up Joseph Wanton for the governorship, and the Ward faction was thoroughly defeated. Wanton remained governor until he was deposed at the beginning of the Revolution, at which time, their animosities presumably forgotten, Hopkins and Ward together represented Rhode Island in the Continental Congress.

Professor Lovejoy's bibliographical essay is good reading and adds to

the value of the book. Future scholars will easily find sources of this exciting period of Rhode Island's history. The notes and index, both so vital to a book of this kind, attest Professor Lovejoy's scholarship.

This study of the political struggle in Rhode Island just prior to the Revolution would establish a pattern for further studies as Professor Lovejoy states in his introduction: "If local issues and concerns were the basis for larger political problems as experience in Rhode Island indicates, then a closer look at political organization and conditions in the colonies in the eighteenth century would help historians to determine more clearly the origins of the American Revolution."

The American Revolution in Georgia 1763–1789. By KENNETH COLEMAN. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1958. viii + 352 pages, maps, appendices, biblio., index. $5.50.)

Reviewed by NORTH CALLAHAN, *author of* Henry Knox, General Washington's General *(1958).*

The American Revolution is just beginning to receive the attention from historians that it deserves, and this stimulating volume by Professor Kenneth Coleman of the University of Georgia is a useful addition to the growing number of books in the field. By 1975 we should have mainly completed our Revolutionary library.

Especially has the War for Independence in the South not been fully treated. With each new account of it comes an increasing realization that it was in this region that our struggle for separation from Great Britain was resolved, and therefore this phase demands closer examination.

The author begins with a background description of the growth and development of Georgia during the fifteen years before actual revolt broke out, and ends with the aftermath of the war, devoting more pages to cause and effect than actual fighting. With a sureness of expression based on sound research, he traces the participation of what was the least significant of the Thirteen Colonies at the time, climaxing the account with the attainment of Georgia statehood and its subsequent relations with other States.

"She had ceased to be the favorite charity of Englishmen," he states, and had wrested control from a surprisingly good royal governor, James Wright, who from residence and training knew the colonial system unusually well. In 1773, he reported to London that Georgia's population had grown from 9,500 in 1761 to 33,000 in 1773, with about three fourths of that number Negroes. Throughout the period when Massachusetts and Virginia were leading the struggle against Great Britain, subsidies and military protection from the mother country kept Georgia loyal.

The author clearly shows that during the period after 1763, however, tensions were built up in all the colonies including Georgia, with the biggest differences arising out of the Sugar and Stamp Acts, the Townshend Revenue Acts and the Intolerable Acts. Georgians, caught in the general epidemic of patriotism, opposed all these acts. Yet had this been all the trouble, Georgia might never have revolted. Even after the battles of Lexington and Concord, both Whigs and Tories in Georgia drank fulsome toasts to the King, to American liberty and speedy reconciliation between Britain and America.

But within a year, Sons of Liberty in Georgia were tarring and feathering—a practice at which they seemed to be adept—dissenters from the advocates of the patriot cause. Especially did they apply this sticky remedy to one Thomas Brown, lately come from England and said to be one of the sons of Lord North "who had been sent to poison the minds of Americans." Yet Georgia had many reasons to remain loyal to the mother country: she was the youngest colony, had a diverse population, was divided religiously and had Whigs who as often fought each other as they did Tories. General Charles Lee sent to recruit troops in Georgia took a dim view of the people he met—which they doubtless returned in good measure. Georgia's actual participation in the war consisted more of supplying food and making raids than major battles.

Dr. Coleman wisely points out that Secretary at War Henry Knox made an able report to Congress on the Indian situation in 1787. Had his considerate recommendations been followed, relations of Indians and whites would have been much brighter. Meanwhile, the Society of the Cincinnati founded by Knox played a considerable if conservative role in Georgia's politics.

This scholarly book has a pedestrian style of writing and is of more interest to students of Georgia history than any other; nonetheless it is a valuable contribution to the history of our first great war.

Swamp Fox: The Life and Campaigns of General Francis Marion. By Robert D. Bass. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1959. x + 275 pages, illus., sources and notes, index. $4.50.)

Reviewed by Kenneth Coleman, *Assistant Professor of History, The University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.*

Most of this volume consists of a description of Francis Marion's 1780–1781 campaigns in South Carolina. The rest of his life gets very scant treatment. Marion was one of the best known and most valuable Whig partisan leaders of the savage guerrilla warfare in South Carolina after the return of the British in 1780. Here is the story of Marion and his militia followers, who might not be available when needed, but who

were available enough to be important to the Whig cause in the South. This reviewer wishes that the qualities of Marion's personal leadership had been better portrayed and analyzed. One would like to see why Whig militiamen followed Marion weary mile after weary mile in pursuit of British and Tories when often the only visible reward was extreme fatigue and plantations or farms destroyed by a vengeful enemy.

The difficulties of operation through the South Carolina low country, with its impenetrable swamps, shortages of horses, weapons and munitions, food and all necessary supplies, are graphically detailed. Despite these difficulties Marion and his militia managed to worry the British incessantly, and thus helped to convince the British to abandon most of South Carolina to the Whigs by the fall of 1781. Marion often operated independently, but he was usually in contact with the Continental commander in the South and at times operated under his directions. Usually the story is told from Marion's viewpoint with no real effort to fit it into the big picture of Southern or South Carolina operations—something that this reviewer thinks detracts from the usefulness of the book. One almost gets the impression that Continental commanders Horatio Gates and Nathanael Greene and other South Carolinians like Thomas Sumter and Peter Horry played only in the wings and that Francis Marion alone occupied the center of the stage.

The book tells in considerable detail what happened. But there is little or no "why," "how," "results," or analysis included for the edification of the reader. Eventually it becomes clear that Marion's greatest damage to the British was his nuisance value. He continually harassed small detachments and supply lines though often his forces were so small the raids could only worry the British. Readers who are not intimately acquainted with South Carolina geography will wish for more detailed maps than the two included as end papers but will be glad that places mentioned are located on modern highway maps.

Sources, mainly memoirs and correspondence of participants in the War for Independence and old secondary accounts, seem generally to have been used rather uncritically. The author seems much more interested in writing a striking narrative, which he does quite well in many places, than in historical accuracy. He quotes a "speech" of Marion to his troops (p. 160) with no indication that it might not be authentic. Then in his notes (p. 259) he says, "While Marion undoubtedly spoke to his troops, the speech in Horry, *Francis Marion,* was probably fabricated by Parson Weems." One wonders if other quotations are not of like authority. While the questionable authenticity of some sources is indicated in the bibliographical notes, this does not seem to limit their use throughout the text. It is difficult to check specific items in the text because there are only general references to sources used in each chapter. Location of documentary materials used are not given. No search of

modern secondary literature that touches on the subject seems to have been made.

Outpost on the Wabash, 1787–1791: Letters of Brigadier General Josiah Harmar and Major John Francis Hamtramck and other letters and documents selected from the Harmar Papers in the William L. Clements Library. Edited by GAYLE THORNBOROUGH. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1957. 305 pages, map, index. $2.50.)

Reviewed by JOHN BAKELESS, *author of books on Daniel Boone (1939), Lewis and Clark (1947), and George Rogers Clark* (Background to Glory, *1957*), *among others.*

Outpost on the Wabash is a collection of the letters of General Josiah Harmar and Major John Francis Hamtramck, the two leading Regular officers on duty in the "Old Northwest" immediately after the Revolution. These are supplemented by selections from other documents included in the Harmar Papers now preserved in the Clements Library. While all this historical material has long been open to students, there has hitherto been no way of using it, short of a visit to Ann Arbor or the purchase of photographic reproductions. The present collection makes available the most important parts of this material, to which the editor has added numerous and admirable notes, which perform the exact service notes of this kind ought to. That is, they give the information which the modern reader needs and which the original writer of the letters and other documents could take for granted in his correspondent—and no more.

This is by no means history on the grand scale—what Sir Walter Scott once called "the big, bow-wow strain"; but it provides firsthand material on events on an extremely active, picturesque, and important frontier in the critical years just after the Revolution and before Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers. The skillfully selected documents have an incomparable firsthand vividness, though they deal with the relatively small matters that accompanied greater events of the day.

The reader will find here new and unexpected lights on such figures of the period as George Rogers Clark, Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea), Richard Butler, Sir Guy Carleton, Francis Vigo, John Armstrong, General Knox, Winthrop Sargent, and Father Pierre Gibault. It is too bad that Harmar himself did not provide more detail on his resounding defeat by the Indians, but it is understandable that the General did not care to dwell upon the worst mishap of his career; and the editor of Harmar's papers could not very well go beyond what Harmar himself reported.

Though the book pretends to be no more than a collection of documents, it is excellent reading and has been so skillfully edited that it closely approaches a connected narrative.

Entangling Alliance: Politics and Diplomacy under George Washington. By Alexander DeConde. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1958. xii + 511 pages, biblio., note, index. $7.50.)

Reviewed by Frances S. Childs, *Professor of History, Brooklyn College.*

"At the beginning of the federal government as George Washington took office the French alliance was the cornerstone of American foreign policy; it had contributed immensely to American independence and had established American foreign policy orientation. At the end of Washington's second term . . . the life-giving alliance was dead and the United States virtually at war with France. The main problem dealt with in this book is how and why in eight formative years such a drastic reversal . . . took place." Thus dramatically does Dr. DeConde, an associate professor at the University of Michigan, explain the purpose of his study. His book is "not a diplomatic history in the traditional sense," but "a synthesis of domestic political history and diplomatic history"; his approach one of "problem analysis," necessitating repetition and defying "straight chronological treatment."

Professor DeConde details Anglo-American relations first, basing them on an analysis of the fourfold "Hamiltonian system—economic, political, diplomatic, and constitutional—to which Washington succumbed and against which Jefferson fought; and continuing on through the furor over the Jay Treaty. The Franco-American material follows: first commerce, then politics, the debate on neutrality, Genet's spectacular arrival, his reception (here Jefferson did defeat Hamilton), his alarming intrigues and his fall, the French cause going down with him. Subsequent chapters go through the election of 1796.

While Professor DeConde's approach to his material is novel, the material itself is familiar enough for his readers to be seeking fresh details and illuminating syntheses. On the first point they will not be disappointed for the narrative abounds with illustrative detail based on exhaustive study of the sources. For an expert synthesis these sources are also clearly adequate. The mere handling of this material is no mean task. For his effort to synthesize it Professor DeConde deserves real credit. Nevertheless in the mind of the present reviewer this effort at synthesis fails of realization both in its technique and in its conclusions.

As regards technique, the book is too long, wordy, and repetitive: *vide* the loosely written chapters broken into sections by stars, the adjectives strung together with hyphens—Genet's "neutrality-defying activities," Washington's "opposition-smothering popularity," the reiteration of the discord between Hamilton and Jefferson. A thorough revision of this manuscript in the interest of discipline and style would have produced a more significant text; reduction of the extensive uncritical footnotes in the interest of a selective critical bibliography and

the text of the treaty in question (now omitted) would have produced a better tool for the scholar. Whether Professor DeConde's "problem analysis" technique results in a clearer picture than more conventional approaches can also be questioned. It is frankly disconcerting to read in Chapter XIII of Adet's activities during the debate on the Jay Treaty when its passage was discussed in Chapter IV with no mention of Adet!

As regards conclusions, Dr. DeConde's answer to his original query on why the alliance collapsed remains Hamilton's success in winning Washington and defeating Jefferson on whom the French alliance rested. The epilogue supports this thesis with cautious but definite derogation of the founding fathers, Washington in particular. "Far from being a statesman of wide grasp, Washington lacked the broad intellectual qualities capable of constructing the all-embracing Hamiltonian program. . . ." Granted the success of pro-British diplomacy at the moment, still Professor DeConde's insistence seems exaggerated. Was Washington merely putty in Hamilton's hands?

Finally Professor DeConde asks whether "with the support and prestige of Washington and under a more democratic electorate might not Americans have overthrown the Hamiltonian system and cast America's lot with the French alliance and Republican France?" With this position the present reviewer disagrees emphatically, believing that it would have required such a wise and sustained French policy towards the United States, to outweigh the traditional and deep English bonds (which Washington knew), as to be then unthinkable. Talleyrand saw this and said so in his *Institut* speech in 1797. Professor DeConde fails to disprove Talleyrand.

A Polish Chapter in Jacksonian America: The United States and the Polish Exiles of 1831. By Jerzy Jan Lerski. [Poland's Millenium Series of the Kosciuszko Foundation, Vol. II.] (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1958. xi + 242 pages, appendix, biblio., index. $5.00.)

Reviewed by Theresa A. Czajkowska.

The American people, having formed their own nation by revolt against oppression, have traditionally nurtured a sympathy for similar efforts. As Prof. Lerski points out, when the Polish people attempted in the winter of 1830–1831 to overthrow Russian domination of their country—Poland having been partitioned in 1795 among Austria, Prussia and Russia—nothing in the foreign policy or domestic setup of the Jacksonian era was particularly conducive to producing the tremendous wave of sympathy for them which swept through America, except "the American people's own idealism and sense of justice." The spontaneous response in the American press resulted in mass demonstrations,

formulation of committees to raise money and munitions, and even several groups of volunteers to join in the fight.

An "American-Polish Committee," formed in Paris in July 1831 under the direction of Lafayette, promptly received the support of his American friends. Chief among them was James Fenimore Cooper, then visiting abroad, who brought together many other eminent Americans residing in Paris, published appeals for circulation among Americans at home, and contributed heavily from his own funds. Samuel Gridley Howe also devoted himself wholeheartedly: he brought with him to France a generous donation raised in America, chaired a committee to help needy Polish exiles, and even risked arrest by the Prussians in attempting to transmit money to Poland. Samuel F. B. Morse, Ralph Waldo Emerson, N. P. Willis, to name but a few, were among the many active and persistent workers for the Polish cause in France.

Encouraged by American support, several groups, totalling 425 Poles who had participated in the 1831 uprising, finally came to the United States to seek freedom. They were most hospitably received by the people and the press, and it is with a Pole's gratitude that Prof. Lerski gives a detailed, appreciative account of the unstinting devotion and zeal with which Albert Gallatin applied himself to aiding the exiles. (The New-York Historical Society preserves among its Gallatin manuscripts a large collection of that benevolent statesman's correspondence relating to the Polish cause.) The story of the Poles' reception in major eastern cities, of the funds raised for them, and of the attempts to establish a "Little Poland" by a Congressional land grant in Illinois, is all the more significant because so many eminent Americans participated in these efforts. A worthwhile contribution, too, is Prof. Lerski's careful accumulation of facts about the first Polish-American organizations, and of interesting biographical details about some of the Polish emigrants.

This book will be most fully appreciated by students of Polish-American history for it is that group more than any other which realizes the great need for such a thorough study. Hitherto, tantalizing evidences of American sympathy for the exiled Poles and of their route to and through America have cropped up in various contemporary sources, indicating that the exiles attracted nation-wide concern; yet up to now historians have largely ignored those events in depicting the American scene of that period. Except for the pioneer studies of Miecislaus Haiman (mostly in Polish), even Polish historians were unable to throw light on this "Polish chapter in Jacksonian America." Prof. Lerski has deftly brought together all pertinent material from American and European archives to weave a coherent and complete narrative. If the book fails somewhat to portray the emotional intensity and excitement that the events undoubtedly produced at the time, that disappointment can be easily overlooked, for the author has performed a prodigious task of digging through scattered sources for elusive facts, has weeded out in-

correct information provided by less scrupulous scholars, and has reconstructed a reliable record of an interesting portion of the American, and Polish, past.

Prince Napoleon in America, 1861: Letters from His Aide-de-Camp. By Lieut.-Col. Camille Ferri Pisani. Translated with a Preface and Notes by Georges J. Joyaux. Foreword by Bruce Catton. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959. 317 pages, illus., notes, biblio. $6.75.)

Reviewed by W. S. Tryon, *Professor of History, Boston University, and author of* A Mirror for Americans.

This charming volume, made so not only by its narrative but by its attractive format (its end papers by Lawrence Hoffman and the illustrations by Gil Walker are delightful), is a distinct addition to the travel literature on America. This edition in English, nearly one hundred years after its appearance in Paris, is no doubt due to the present exaggerated, even ridiculous, mania for American Civil War history. Thus the title now includes the magic date 1861, and there is a foreword by that indefatigable Civil War historian, Bruce Catton. It is a pity all this seemed necessary. Out of seven lengthy "letters," only one deals directly with the contest and mention of it elsewhere is mostly casual and incidental. Indeed the chief contribution this volume offers on the Civil War seems to be that nobody was paying much attention to it.

The real and very genuine value of this book lies elsewhere, namely, in the vast panorama of the American scene which the author portrays. He appears to have been an acute observer. Though the travelers were distinguished (Plon-Plon, the cousin of the Emperor; Princess Clotilde and the Duchess of Abrantès, who mostly got left behind; Maurice, the son of Georges Sand; and Captain Ragon, the Crimean War hero), these seldom intrude on the narrative. The account is distinctly Pisani's. Tolerant, sophisticated, Prince Napoleon's aide-de-camp wrote with a Frenchman's wry humor and with an eye for the significant and entertaining detail.

In two months a remarkable amount of ground was covered: New York, Philadelphia, Washington, the West to Pittsburgh, Cleveland, the Great Lakes, St. Louis—Chicago curiously was neglected—and a return by way of Niagara Falls and Boston. They met many important people, and Pisani has shrewd evaluations of Lincoln, Seward, Generals Scott and McClellan, Lewis Cass, and John C. Frémont, "who always insisted on the acute accent."

The narrative is least valuable when Pisani indulges in a Frenchman's recollections of lost empire, tedious in his occasional historical "asides" which do little except to serve notice that all history does not coincide

with the American interpretation, and deplorable in his total failure to comprehend Rappites, Shakers, or Unitarians.

He more than makes up for his defects, however, when he brings to life the actual scenes he saw: railroads, steamboats, Irishmen, newspapers, city traffic, a ludicrous reception by President Lincoln, houses, the Eastern Penitentiary, women's dress, temperance hotels, table manners, or dry goods stores where you could get everything from umbrellas to guns but no beer or gin. Especially absorbing are the accounts of life in New York and Philadelphia and the descriptions of primitive travel on the Great Lakes and the Superior iron-ore fields.

Pisani disclaims any intention of philosophic interpretation such as de Tocqueville's. Yet he discourses, sometimes with wisdom, on the American character, its individualism, its go-getter ambitions, on American democracy and its friendly egalitarianism. Pisani liked Americans. His account, though not uncritical, is kindly and in a notable passage he predicted that the Republic was destined to be the protector of a beleaguered Europe. A curious insight.

The work of the editor and translator is to be commended. His English rendition is lively and idiomatic. His editorial work, with satisfactory informative notes, is kept modestly in the background. Professor Joyaux deserves great thanks for making available a valuable historical work and for doing it with such intelligence and grace.

Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War. By Alexander Gardner. With an introduction by E. F. Bleiler. (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1959. [viii + 200 +iv] pages, 100 illus. with descriptive text, index. $6.00.)

Reviewed by Arthur B. Carlson, *Curator of Maps and Prints, NYHS.*

Alexander Gardner, assistant to the famous Civil War photographer Mathew Brady, left the employ of Brady in 1863 and developed his own photographic business, including considerable battlefield work mainly in the period after 1863. In 1866 Gardner published a handsome two-volume set of photographic views consisting of one hundred photographs of camp life, trenches, battlefields, and showing the devastation caused by the contending armies of the North and South. Since Gardner used actual photographs mounted on heavy cards twelve by fifteen and one half inches in size, the sets were costly to produce and did not sell extensively, so that today they are collector's items. The New-York Historical Society has two of the sets in its collection, as well as a number of extra plates extracted from the volumes.

This new edition is printed from halftone plates just a fraction of an inch smaller than Gardner's original photographs. The text descriptive of the plates is also included and an index has been added. The publica-

tion of this volume makes available to a wider public a useful illustrated item showing scenes of the Civil War from Bull Run to Appomattox.

Crane Hook on the Delaware 1667–1699: An Early Swedish Lutheran Church and Community, with the Historical Background of the Delaware River Valley. By JEANNETTE ECKMAN. Drawings by Walter Stewart. (Newark, Del.: Published for the Delaware Swedish Colonial Society by the Institute of Delaware History and Culture, University of Delaware, 1958. xv + 143 pages, illus., biblio. $3.50.)

Reviewed by EDGAR F. ROMIG, D.D., *Minister, West End Collegiate Church, New York City.*

The title of this book is deceptively modest. To the uninitiated, Crane Hook is nothing more than a relatively obscure American place-name. In reality it is the designation of a site amazingly rich in associations with early Swedish settlements in our country. The main facts concerning the first migration of those Scandinavians to the Western continent in the 17th century are by now incorporated in popular histories such as Christopher Ward's *The Dutch and Swedes in the Delaware (1609–1664)* which bring us up to the time of Stuyvesant's reluctant surrender to the British; but here the reader is presented with a careful and detailed study of an important settlement in later years of the century which proved decisive for the subsequent history of what is now Delaware. This study begins at a point from which the continuity of one center can be traced.

Necessary understanding for the reader is found in the statement of the Foreword that "the Swedes who made the first permanent settlement in the Delaware River Valley . . . maintained their culture under the successive sovereignties of The Netherlands and England during the ensuing one hundred years. The heart of this culture was the Swedish Lutheran Church. The earliest of the remaining church buildings is Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, standing near the site where the first settlers stepped ashore at 'The Rocks,' now in Fort Christina State Park, Wilmington. Old Swedes was built by the congregation of Crane Hook Church. . . . Except in land records and among history students the place-name [Crane Hook] has almost disappeared." Researches by Miss Eckman have now authenticated the exact site of the Church, and the chapters in the volume here reviewed represent a chronology based on documented excerpts from rare original sources.

Chapter 4 is perhaps the most valuable one in the volume. On "The Building of Crane Hook Church," it portrays exhaustively steps in the founding and early growth of that place of Christian witness. The attitude of the Dutch to the Swedes will be of special interest to many readers. Light on Lutheranism will provide new facts for the annals of that denomination. And the paragraphs on the visit of the Dutch Re-

formed Domine Varick of Long Island in 1690 seem prefigurative of the *ecumenicism* of modern times. Varick's words, as quoted, testify: "I came to a Swede, Israel Helm. . . . He received me kindly. Upon hearing that I was a minister he said they would make an agreement with me to be their pastor. . . . I replied, 'You are Lutherans.' He replied, 'There is, indeed, a little difference about the Communion, but we shall not trouble about that. . . .'"

Subsequent chapters are "From Crane Hook to Christina," "Some Crane Hook Land Transfers and the Church Burying Ground," and "Charles Springer (1658–1738)." Springer, a plantation owner, and a man of cultured Swedish background, became an influential and revered member of the Crane Hook group. The final two chapters of the work are on "Charles Springer's Service to Church and People," and "Charles Springer's Family." This reader found himself deeply moved in becoming acquainted with this noble-minded pioneer; and a recently discovered letter from him to his mother in Sweden (June 1693) is a particular gem.

How one could elaborate on Miss Eckman's book! The litigation, up to recent years, in behalf of "Springer heirs" will have its place in a special section of Americana. Also, for this reviewer, there is an intriguing note in the work on the early participation of Finns in the enterprise on the Delaware. Miss Eckman does not endeavor to treat the Finns out of proportion to the entire undertaking in the Swedish colony. (That gets its emphasis in John H. Wuorinen's *The Finns in the Delaware*, New York, 1938.) She resists the temptation to go off into alluring excursions. She sticks to her main thesis, and does justice to it. We are indebted to her for a valued contribution to the chronicles of America.

Manhattan Firearms. By Waldo E. Nutter. (Harrisburg: The Stackpole Company, 1959. 250 pages, illus., appendices, biblio., index. $10.00.)

This book tells of the Manhattan Fire Arms Manufacturing Company, incorporated in New York in 1855, reincorporated in New Jersey in 1863, and reorganized as the American Standard Tool Company in 1868. It existed until 1873, and made pistols at Norwich, Conn., and Newark, N. J. The company's most conspicuous products were percussion revolvers bearing a close resemblance to Colts on which the patents had expired, and arms so like the first Smith & Wesson cartridge revolvers as to be adjudged infringements. A few features of the Manhattans were original. The author reconstructs the vicissitudes of such competition with great fidelity to detail and supplies a well-illustrated inventory of models for the specialist-collector of firearms. Facsimiles in the appendix are somewhat repetitive of matter quoted in the text.

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